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INSIDE

Special South Africa Issue

THE SLAVE LABOUR RACKET

page five

SECRET TRIALS

An eye-witness account

page six

TUC GETS CALL TO INDUSTRIAL ACTION

Ronald Segal's challenges to British trade unionists

page nine

Also

THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT

is interviewed by Peace News

page eleven

GHANA NOTEBOOK

The press, the opposition, the economy and Dr. Nkrumah's legislation are discussed by Michael Randle

page ten

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

outlines his plan for the Congo

page two

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

By the Rev. Michael Scott

SOUTH AFRICA IS IN REALITY MORE OF A CHALLENGE TO THE UNITED NATIONS THAN THE CONGO. FOR SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN ON THE AGENDA OF THE UNITED NATIONS EVER SINCE THE FIRST MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT SAN FRANCISCO IN 1946.

It is only during the last year that the Congo has erupted into an urgent question involving world peace and security. South Africa and the South West African Mandate have been in process of negotiation within the United Nations procedures for 14 years.

The patience and faith of the Africans there in the UN has been rewarded by endless talk from the most influential powers about "conciliation". The effect of events in the Congo and elsewhere may seem to place a premium upon violence as opposed to the method of peaceful procedure.

That is why the African states are now determined to take strong action at the UN. It is possible they will demand a declaration that South Africa, having violated the Mandate should hand over its jurisdiction over the territory to the UN so that it can be administered in accordance with the provisions of the Mandate as a "sacred trust of civilisation".

If S. Africa refuses

If South Africa refuses, the African states may either seek the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice under Article 7 of the Mandate and Article 36 of the Statutes of the Court or they may go to the Security Council and call for "collective measures" against South Africa which could mean a United Nations sponsored plan of sanction.

It will be a trial of strength. And it will certainly be difficult for the Western Powers for it is a peculiarly Western problem to justify the delays and perfidy that have characterised South Africa's actions in the UN and in South West Africa where the Union Government has continued to dispossess the African people of their lands and rights, extended the hated system of apartheid and denied them even the right of petition enjoyed under the League of Nations.

'Successful' welcome for Khrushchev

THE following account of Mr. Khrushchev's arrival in New York appeared in the lead story in *The Times* on Tuesday:

As the Baltika steamed into American water this morning she was met by members of the Longshoremen's Union which had chartered a vessel called the Knickerbocker II from which to express sentiments, such as "Wanted for murder—the red Hitler."

The vessel displayed signs, and brought a Russian speaker with a megaphone, but it is doubtful whether she succeeded in communicating any better than the land-bound demonstrators.

She was kept at a distance of at least 200 yards, and the swirling rain and mist did the rest. A plan by two other organisations to have equally imaginative remarks written in the sky was also abortive.

More successful was a modest effort by a dinghy trailing a canoe with a sign urging unilateral disarmament and non-violent resistance.

is interviewed by Peace News
page eleven

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SOPER'S ADVICE TO LABOUR MOVEMENT:

Complete disarmament

THE British Labour movement, driven by discussions on the H-bomb, was urged by Dr. Soper last week to divest itself "of all contamination with modern war and every preparation for it."

"It would be as unfair," Dr. Soper wrote in Tribune, "to say that the Labour leadership is completely paralysed, as it would be to say that the spokesmen of unilateral action have seen as clearly as they must the 'far-off city towers.' It is a new and untravelled road for any country and any party to tread and it should surprise nobody that the pilgrims are finding it hard going."

Finding only moderate comfort in the assurance that the people of Britain were

Awarded honorary degree

PROFESSOR Dame Kathleen Lonsdale has been awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Science at the University of Wales.

The ceremony took place in the City Hall, Cardiff, on September 5 at the end of an all-day symposium on world food and population, attended by over 2,000, held in connection with the meetings of the British Association of which Kathleen Lonsdale is one of the honorary general secretaries.

The citation, reports *The Friend*, referred not only to her scientific work but also to her book *IS PEACE POSSIBLE?* and her service on the Board of Visitors at H.M. Borstal Institution for Girls, Aylesbury.

moving steadily towards the repudiation of nuclear weapons, Dr. Soper said that answers had to be found to the questions being put to Frank Cousins:

What does the repudiation of the bomb mean for NATO?

If we depend upon the Americans for our defence, what becomes of the remains of our freedom?

If we seek to reject all nuclear defence what becomes of our place in the councils of the world?

"The more I try to ponder these excruciatingly difficult questions," wrote Dr. Soper, "the more clear does it become that Aldermaston, symbol of nuclear disarmament, is not the end of the road."

"It is at best a half-way house. It is certainly 'no abiding city.' I believe we must pass through it because our destination is beyond. We can't stop there."

"The H-bomb is but one expression of the nemesis that attaches to mass violence in a scientific world such as this is. Repudiate it by all means, but set that repudiation within the framework of complete disarmament over a calculated period."

ELECTION WINNER?

In the *Observer* last Sunday, Frank Allaun, MP, challenged the paper's view that Labour would be defeated if it fought an election with unilateral nuclear disarmament as one of its planks.

"I believe . . . that large numbers of men and women who are without any strong party allegiance . . . would sup-

ON BACK PAGE

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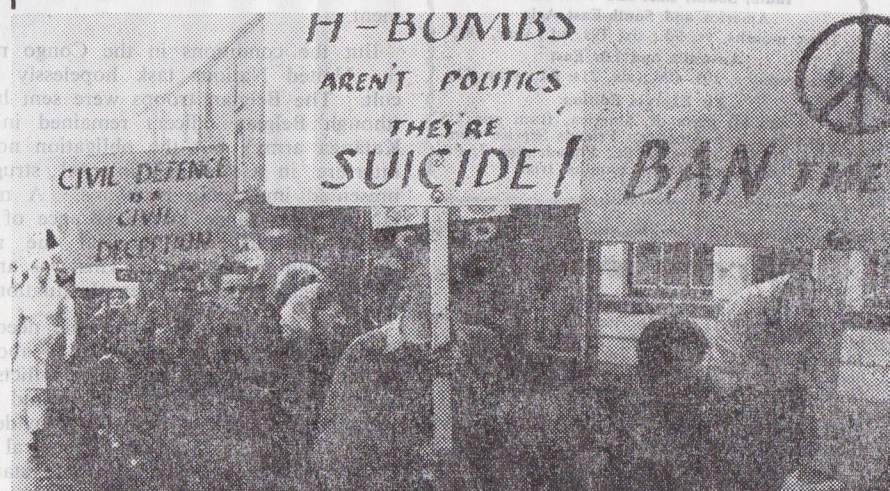
LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

NEXT week's Peace News, which will be on sale at the Labour Party Conference, will contain a full analysis of the big controversy on "defence"

Most interesting for many will be an exclusive interview with Bertrand Russell. Other features will include reviews of

Herbert Morrison's autobiography and of Leslie Hale's latest book. Jim Peck will be writing from New York on Cuba and Communism, and Dr. Homer Jack will survey the "new" United Nations. There will also be all the usual features and news, including reports of London's big anti-apartheid rally and the end of the Edinburgh-London recruiting campaign for nuclear disarmament.

They reach the Square tomorrow



Edinburgh to London anti-H-bomb marchers reach Trafalgar Square tomorrow (Saturday) for a rally at 4.30 p.m. "400-mile marchers sing at Jail Gates." See back page.

Photo: Ernest Podke.

CLASSIFIED

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MEETINGS

MEETING ROOMS AVAILABLE at Peace News offices, seat 10—40, very reasonable charges, refreshment facilities, piano. Apply The Warden, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross, London, N.1.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

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PERSONAL

A NEW APPROACH to conquer loneliness. The informal hospitality of the Marriage Club helps sensitive people to meet congenial partners. Write Mrs. Prue White, 14, Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3. SW1 4924.

DUPLICATING, verbatim shorthand, typing (tapes, etc.), translating. Mabel Eyles, 10 Beaconsfield Road, London, N.11. ENterprise 3324.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

PEACE NEWS AND HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP welcome visitors 9.30 and 6 p.m. Monday to Friday, to 1 p.m. on Saturday. Voluntary work always available. Peace literature, books of all kinds, personal-commercial stationery, greetings cards, etc., on sale.

THE DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE against Nuclear War urgently need competent typist to help part time in office. 20 hours a week at £4 Times to be arranged at mutual convenience. Please apply to The Secretary, 344 Seven Sisters Rd., N.4. STA 7062.

WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

WEDNESDAY EVENING WORK PARTIES at Peace News Office, everyone welcome, free-for-all discussion. 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross, London, N.1.

LITERATURE

BE WELL INFORMED—Labour Party Members and Trade Unionists must read the Labour Peace Bulletin. 2s. 6d. per year, post free. From Secretary, Labour Peace Fellowship, 24a Breakspears Road, London, S.E.4.

BRITAIN'S OLDEST SOCIALIST WEEKLY—vigorous, forthright and consistently against war—the "Socialist Leader." Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Three pence weekly. Obtainable from your newsagent or from 48, Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1., and 6, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

FLYING SAUCERS—Are they Messengers of Peace? Read about their Mission to Earth in "Cosmic Voice," price 2s. 10d. from the Aetherius Society, 757 Fulham Road, London, S.W.6.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Cttee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

BUSINESS AND FINANCE

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MY PLAN FOR THE CONGO

BY the time this article appears, the General Assembly of the United Nations may have reached a decision on future action in the Congo.

I have suggested a solution at meetings in England which has received a good deal of publicity. This proposal has not always been understood, and it may be useful if I state it in some detail. Whatever decision is reached now by the United Nations, the Congo crisis will persist for some time and we shall have to continue to seek the best way out.

It has been suggested in the *Guardian* that President Nkrumah may make to the United Nations a proposal similar to the plan I outlined. I should be very happy if he did. But I do not want to embarrass him, and I want therefore to make it clear that the plan was made on my responsibility only and that I had not previously discussed it with any African representative. It is for Africans to judge whether it is good or bad.

The chaos in the Congo is not primarily due to Africans. It is the inevitable result of the failures of the previous Belgian administration and of European colonialism.

No rights

The Belgians denied the African people the most elementary political rights and all experience in government, public service or police or army command. The Congolese could not be expected in such circumstances to take over smoothly without strains or stresses and stultifications.

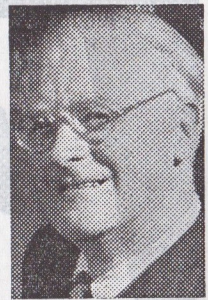
The colonial frontiers which the European Powers established at the Berlin Congress in 1885 were arbitrary and artificial. They integrated tribes with traditional loyalties under one administration and divided tribes with intimate loyalties under different administrations. The Congo was a classic example. Tribes were coalesced. Tribes were cut between the Belgian Congo, the French Congo and Portuguese Angola.

These are the historic causes for the chaos in the Congo. The confusion is due not to the incompetence of Africans but to the incongruity bequeathed by colonial rule.

These difficulties have been aggravated

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



Congo must come from the Congolese people. The most acceptable political advice can be given them by African States with which they have a sense of solidarity and which are free from the suspicion of acting for external Powers and interests.

My proposal therefore was that the United Nations should ask the African States to appoint members to a top-level Commission to proceed to the Congo with the object first of reconciling the conflicting elements and establishing conditions under which the constitution, including the relations of the regions to the centre, could be negotiated free from physical strife and outside pressures. It may be that the African States would welcome Asian co-operation.

The second function of this Commission would be to consult on needed technical assistance and economic aid with whatever Government the Congolese Parliament (attended under free conditions by all the elected members) voted to office. The United Nations secretariat has capable African and Asian experts who could advise in these matters. I would like to see Professor Arthur Lewis, of Negro descent, put in charge.

Impartiality

Negotiations carried out under such auspices would be lifted above the Cold War. They would be free from any suspicion of partial political influences, though it would be necessary, of course, to have the co-operation through the United Nations of the countries contributing personnel and monies.

Thirdly, the Commission would have the duty of co-operating with the United Nations in requiring an embargo on arms, military advisers, troops or equipment offered independently to one faction or another in the Congo by any Power. This should apply equally to Belgium and the

West and to Russia and the Communist countries. It is important for the Congo, Africa and the world that the Congolese people should not be made pawns or playthings in the Cold War.

Some press reports of this plan suggested that I had proposed that the African Commission should entirely replace United Nations presence or influence in the Congo. I did not intend that.

Co-operation

Africa is a part of the world and its growing strength in the United Nations justifies co-operation and confidence. It may well be that for a time United Nations forces would be necessary to act with the African Commission in preserving peace and in enforcing the embargo on foreign arms. Certainly the United Nations would necessarily function in the provision of technical assistance and economic aid.

There is the plan. I hope something like it may be adopted.

None of us should lose heart because of the difficulties in the Congo. The circumstances of independence destined a period of stress and confusion.

Tolerance, democracy and harmony do not emerge in a day. So far as they have been realised in Britain and other countries, this is the heritage of centuries of struggle for liberty and people's rights, not excluding civil war. We must not expect the same results to be gained overnight in Africa.

Out of the present conflicts and confusion in the Congo, deformed offspring of the past, can grow the free and relaxed society of tomorrow. The immediate need is to lift from the Congolese people the pressures which prevent that growth and to provide the conditions under which reason can open the door to agreement.

The free African States can do that best for the Congo. Let us invite them to do it.

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SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Golborne Rd., off Portobello Market, north end. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to the Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

SUNDAYS

GLASGOW: 8.15 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd. Open-air meeting.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

pean Powers established at the Berlin Congress in 1885 were arbitrary and artificial. They integrated tribes with traditional loyalties under one administration and divided tribes with intimate loyalties under different administrations. The Congo was a classic example. Tribes were coalesced. Tribes were cut between the Belgian Congo, the French Congo and Portuguese Angola.

These are the historic causes for the chaos in the Congo. The confusion is due not to the incompetence of Africans but to the incongruity bequeathed by colonial rule.

These difficulties have been aggravated by Belgian industrial interests, supplemented by British interests which share ownership in the mineral riches of the Katanga. They fanned to flame the fires of tribal dissension to maintain their financial power. Even in Leopoldville, the remaining Belgian settlers encouraged resistance to the elected Congolese Parliament and its chosen Prime Minister and stimulated rivalries and divisions.

UN task

The United Nations Security Council resolution of July 14 which initiated action in the Congo was a good resolution. It called for the withdrawal of Belgian troops from the territory and instructed Mr. Hammarskjöld to provide military assistance and technical aid to the Congolese Government.

But the conditions in the Congo made the United Nations task hopelessly difficult. The Belgian troops were sent home (though Belgian officers remained in the Katanga army), but the obligation not to interfere in Congolese internal struggles presented impossible problems. A major UN mistake, made in the absence of Mr. Hammarskjöld, was to seal the radio station and the airports. This was an act of intervention in an internal situation.

There are now three supreme needs in the Congo. The first is to bring about a settlement which will end the conflicts between the rival political leaders and their supporters. The second is to provide the Congo with the necessary technical and economic aid to enable a stable state to develop. The third is to neutralise the Congo from the Cold War power struggle between non-African Governments.

I think it is self-evident that the best chance of achieving these results is from Africa itself. The final solution within the

War. They would be free from any suspicion of partial political influences, though it would be necessary, of course, to have the co-operation through the United Nations of the countries contributing personnel and monies.

Thirdly, the Commission would have the duty of co-operating with the United Nations in requiring an embargo on arms, military advisers, troops or equipment offered independently to one faction or another in the Congo by any Power. This should apply equally to Belgium and the

DIARY

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, September 23

BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m. Lecture Hall, Church Ho., North Parade. Brains Trust: W. G. Wolsey (AEU), Peter Thornton and others. Bradford CND.

PETTS WOOD, Kent: 8 p.m. Daylight Inn. Meeting. Speakers: Mrs. Peggy Duff and others. Petts Wood YCND.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON: 8 p.m. Town Hall. J. B. Priestley, Dame Peggy Ashcroft, Jacquetta Hawkes speak on CND.

Saturday, September 24

BRADFORD: Friends Mtg. Ho., Melbourne Place, Grand Autumn Fayre, to be opened by Lord and Lady Boyd Orr. Stalls, sideshows, folk-singing. Tickets from P. D. Fenbow, 91 St. Leonard's Rd., Gillington, Bradford 8, or at the door.

BRISTOL: Picket at Bristol Aircraft Co., Filton, followed by march into city. Details: Will Parkin, 15 Kenmore Cres., Bristol 7. CND.

LONDON, W.C.1: Campbell Hall, Taviton St. Residential Conference. "Pacifism & the Fighting Spirit." 3-8.30 (Tea at 5.30) "How to Use the Fighting Spirit" (Dorothy Matthews), "The Proper use of Aggression with Unhappy Adolescents" (Dr. Otto Shaw). London & S.E. Area PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 4.30 p.m. Trafalgar Square. Final Rally of Edinburgh to London March. Speakers: Bertrand Russell, Judith Hart, MP, Ian Mikardo and others. CND.

LOUGHBOROUGH: 3 p.m. 329 Beacon Rd. Garden Party—games, competitions, stalls, music. PPU/For.

NEWCASTLE: Friends Mtg. Ho., Pilgrim St. Dedication Service followed by AGM. Refreshments from 5.15 p.m. For.

Sunday, September 25

EWELL, Surrey: 3 p.m. 94 Park Ave. East. Miss Irene Vermes on International Voluntary Service. Surrey PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: Campbell Hall, Taviton St. 10-12.30 Towards Pacifism from the Nursery Age" (Marjorie Mitchell), "Violence & the Fighting Spirit" (Stuart Morris). Non-residents' fee 2s. plus meals. London & S.E. Area PPU.

LONDON, N.1: 3.30 p.m. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross. O. L. Tuckman "Man—the Unknown?" followed by recordings Dr. and Mrs. Linus Pauling. Universal Religion—Pacifist Fellowship.

Monday, September 26

EDINBURGH: 2.15 p.m. Courtroom 5, Parliament House, 11 Parliament Sq. Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors.

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. London Appellate Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

struggle for liberty and people's rights, not excluding civil war. We must not expect the same results to be gained overnight in Africa.

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The free African States can do that best for the Congo. Let us invite them to do it.

Tuesday, September 27

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

ST. MARY CRAY, Kent: 8 p.m. Bridge House, Cray Ave. Meeting for trades unionists. Ernie Roberts and Ron Huzzard. CND.

Thursday, September 29

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Group Discussion. PPU.

Friday, September 30

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, Kensington. London Local Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

NEWCASTLE: 7.45 p.m. City Hall. Mass Rally. Speakers: John Collins, Ian Mikardo, John Stonehouse, A. J. P. Taylor. Adm. Is. CND.

Saturday, October 1

LEICESTER: 7.45 p.m. 30 Pinfold, Braunstone. (Bus—Midland Red L22.) Mrs. P. Sawyer, "South African Experiences." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 2.30 p.m. Mary Ward Settlement, 5 Tavistock Place. Post-Service Conference and Reunion for all volunteers at work camps this season. IVS.

PETTS WOOD, Kent: 3-6.45 p.m. G. E. A. Hall, Woodhurst Ave. One-day School. Michael Craft and David Roth. Fee incl. tea 2s. 6d. to Ron Huzzard, 37 Hollingworth Rd., Petts Wood. CND.

Sunday, October 2

BRADFORD: Demonstration at Labour Party Conference, Scarborough. Coach leaves 10 a.m. Ritz Cinema. Bookings to: Alick South, 22 Park Grove, Bradford. CND.

LONDON, N.W.1: 72 Oakley Sq. IVS Local Group Conference. IVS.

LONDON, S.E.9: 7.30 p.m. 45 Glenlea Rd., Eltham Park. (Mr. & Mrs. Roach.) Formation of New Group. All welcome. Sidcup/Eltham PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 2-6 p.m. Kenilworth Hotel, Gt. Russell St. Half-day School, "The End of an Illusion." Don Bannister, PhD, J. Allen Skinner. Tickets 2s. 6d. from Common Wealth, 12 High St., N.W.3.

Monday, October 3

LONDON, W.2: 7.45 p.m. 16 Westbourne Park Rd. (Porchester Rd. end). J. Allen Skinner, "Current Affairs." Porchester PPU.

Monday, October 3—Saturday, October 22
RICHMOND: Richmond Hill Gallery, 47 Hill Rise. Exhibition of paintings by Anthony Bates.

Tuesday, October 4
SCARBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m. Public Library, Vernon Rd. Peace Rally. Speakers: Frank Allaura, Joyce Butler, Leslie Hale, Emrys Hughes, John Horner. Tickets 1s. from Sec., 24a Breakspears Rd., S.E.4. Labour Peace Fellowship.

Thursday, October 6
LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Albert Mkandawire (Movement for Colonial Freedom). "Central African Problems." PPU/For.

Saturday, November 12—Sunday, November 13
CRICH, Derbyshire: "The Briars," near Matlock. Autumn Conference: "Non-Violence—the Modern Revolution." Guest Speaker Hilda von Klenze. Details from Miss E. Cullingworth, 81 Clarendon Park Road, Leicester.

—By Sybil Morrison—

LESSON OF THE PAST

*I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand
Till I have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.*

—William Blake.

WITH what immense fervour these words have been, and still are, sung by both socialists and pacifists.

It is, of course, a splendid spiritual challenge, but it is not England alone that awaits the coming of the new Jerusalem; it is not England alone that treasures its own "green and pleasant land"; it is Europe, America, Africa, India, China and the world.

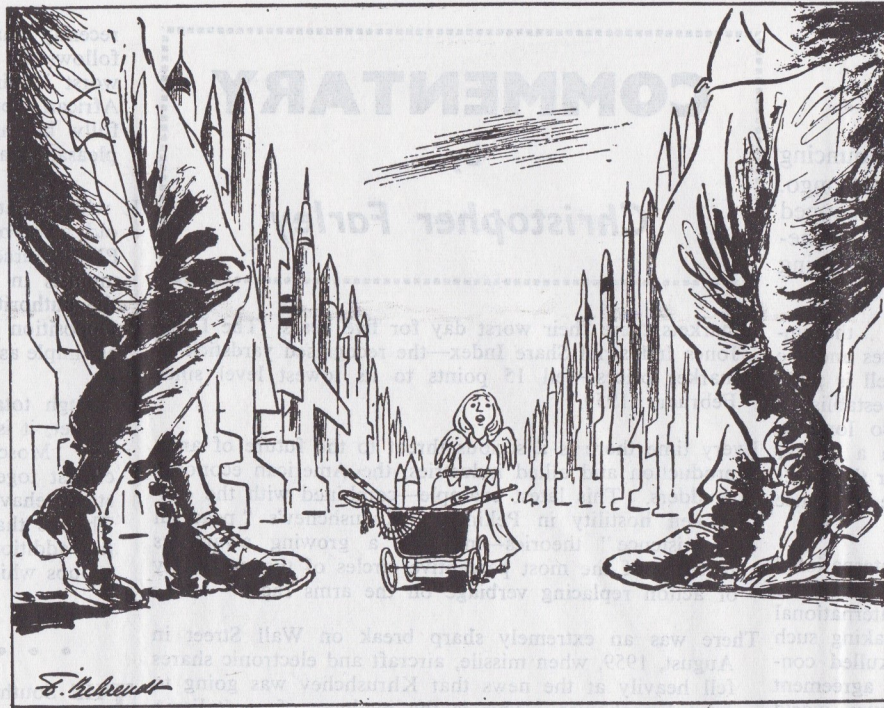
Returning from Italy last week across the breath-taking Simplon pass, by the shores of Lake Geneva, and through the rich vineyards and lush green fields of Italy and France, there seemed to be, alongside of the beauty and richness, a continual reminder of the tragedies of war.

In Florence, that warmly colourful, never-to-be-forgotten city, a terrible battle raged during the Second World War; the scars are there though the exquisite treasures have remained untouched; in France names long remembered assail the mind: Rheims, with its cathedral mended so that it appears untouched; Arras, where in April, 1917, the bloodiest of battles decimated whole regiments of youth; Amiens, where soldiers dug their trenches with their "backs to the wall"; Le Touquet, now a fashionable watering place, where once the dangerously wounded lay in hospital; Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne where they were shipped back to "Blighty."

These names speak of the tragedy and the grief, and afterwards the vows—Never Again. Nevertheless, they come again: Dunkirk and Amsterdam, Calais and Cherbourg, Sedan and Paris, bombed, fought over, occupied; bombed, fought over, liberated. Another pattern, but the same basis.



In Europe a few yards separate the



"Anything to disarm?"

Hope in Notting Hill

AN INTER-RACIAL TENANTS ASSOCIATION GETS TO WORK

Antony Steel writes below on the work of one organisation which is working in London's Notting Hill to meet social needs and thereby undermine some of the causes of the racial disturbances which occurred in that district last year. Antony Steel is secretary of the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport.

FROM the aftermath of the Notting Hill race riots was born the St. Stephen's Tenants' Association which started as a meeting of some of the residents of St. Stephen's Gardens in the basement flat of Mr. "Tommy" Farr, present chairman of the Association.

Four hundred and fifty members and many people who ask for help when in difficulty support the Association. Many lives are the better for its existence in the racially mixed district. Members include British, West Indians, Irishmen, Cypriots, Ceylonese and Africans. Tenants of one

Association have taken up with the police or appropriate authorities cases where tenants have been threatened or robbed.

Perhaps the most important work of all though lies in the constant readiness of the Association to take cases of rent extortion to the Rent Tribunal. Many tenants do not know of their rights or are too nervous to come forward, but as soon as a case comes to light officers of the group voluntarily take up the matter and if necessary will appear before the Tribunal.

There is the case of a young coloured South African woman who lives alone with her young son. Soon after coming to Britain her husband left her and for a time she lived a rather persecuted life—easy prey for bullying landlords. She heard about the Association and found resolute friends, who negotiated for her with a Rent Tribunal and secured a reduction in her rent. She took over the treasurership of the Association when the previous treasurer relinquished her duties to have a baby.

The whole outlook of a person may be

PEACE NEWS, September 23rd, 1960—3

News—bad and good



IN Hell, they have a saying that no news is bad news.

That's because down there the standards of behaviour are such that any pleasant occurrence is regarded as a startling phenomenon and hits the headlines.

Up here it's the other way round. We say no news is good news. That's because most people are so decent most of the time that anything unpleasant is unusual enough to be worth recording.

True, the newspapers report plenty of calamities. And most reporters have experienced that anxious, "don't-blame-me" feeling when, having gone out to get a story about some accident, they have to come back and confess to a disappointed news editor that nobody was hurt.

But that's because it's still only a tiny minority of the population that ever get murdered, robbed, assaulted, divorced, or run over.

The saying is, however, only partly true. A lot of good news does get reported. Cyprus gets its independence; some poor man wins a packet from the pools; Mr. Cousins gets his majority; a barefooted subject of Haile Selassie breaks the Marathon record; another politician gets converted to unilateral disarmament; the Spurs beat the Arsenal . . . and so on. There's always something to cheer the readers up.

And this is particularly true of Peace News. It's true there's plenty of bad news in it: racial strife, nuclear tests, the activities of statesmen, and, perhaps even worse, their speeches.

But look at the good news it brings: the steady growth of a world-wide movement for peace and disarmament for the first time in history; the rapid spread of the revolt against racial discrimination; and, above all, the activities of the young people who fired the first Aldermaston explosion, thus vindicating the present generation and confounding the pessimistic detractors of modern youth.

Looking back as far as 1966 I can't find any better news than all that. Help us to keep the glad tidings on tap.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

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Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace

mated whole regiments of youth; Amiens, where soldiers dug their trenches with their "backs to the wall"; Le Touquet, now a fashionable watering place, where once the dangerously wounded lay in hospital; Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne where they were shipped back to "Blighty."

These names speak of the tragedy and the grief, and afterwards the vows—Never Again. Nevertheless, they come again: Dunkirk and Amsterdam, Calais and Cherbourg, Sedan and Paris, bombed, fought over, occupied; bombed, fought over, liberated. Another pattern, but the same basis.



In Europe a few yards separate the peoples of one nation from another nation; there the frontier between one country and another is marked, not by sea and cliffs, but by a signpost or a Customs shed; a few paces may bring into instant existence, a different language, different habits of life, different food, wine, architecture and art. The Channel still dominates the ideas of Britishers; they do not know as Europe does, as Russia does, the sense of nearness to a potential enemy.

When war has come it is across these few yards that men have faced each other with guns and tanks, bullets and bayonets, bombs and shells. It is men who have crushed down the corn to dig the mud-laden trenches in their fields and farms. Afterwards there is left only the vast cemeteries, set with crosses in serried ranks, to hammer home the bitter knowledge of disaster.

The war of the future, if it should come, will leave no reminders, but only ruins; the earth which has somehow survived in the past may never yield its corn and grapes again, and the immensity of that possible holocaust has held back those who, perhaps, would have cared little if once again Europe should be turned into a battlefield.

It is the dawning knowledge that in the nuclear age frontiers and channels have no meaning that has brought about the revulsion against nuclear weapons. Yet, the lesson of the past, which is written over Europe, and over the world for all to read, has yet to be learned.

The tendency to dismiss the past as an irrelevancy because of the incredible enormity of the change in war methods, has in it a tragic and basic error; the past is an integral part of the present and the future; it cannot ever be otherwise. It is war which has created the nuclear bombs and rockets, and it is war that must be abandoned if the new Jerusalem is ever to be built, not alone for England, but for the peoples of the world.

FROM the aftermath of the Notting Hill race riots was born the St. Stephen's Tenants' Association which started as a meeting of some of the residents of St. Stephen's Gardens in the basement flat of Mr. "Tommy" Farr, present chairman of the Association.

Four hundred and fifty members and many people who ask for help when in difficulty support the Association. Many lives are the better for its existence in the racially mixed district. Members include British, West Indians, Irishmen, Cypriots, Ceylonese and Africans. Tenants of one race now baby-sit for those of another. Old-age pensioners are looked after and coach trips organised.

The Association is currently campaigning for a sub-post office to be established in the area as there is none at present, and for a section of Moorhouse Road (London, W.2) to be closed to through traffic due to the great danger from the flow of vehicles. There is a constant fight to have the noisy and disorderly basement clubs, which flourish in what is supposed to be a purely residential district, closed, or at least disciplined. In many cases this has been successful.

Knife fight

Only recently a knife fight took place outside one of these clubs endangering young people and other passers-by. The local (Paddington) Council is notified of all defects and insanitary conditions relating to houses in the street, and officers of the

IMPROVEMENT

*The backroom boys, who've seen the Light,
Misquote Ben Jonson with delight:
"It is not growing like a tree
In bulk doth make bombs better be."*

*Sick of mere size, they steer us
from
The bigger and the better bomb.
Production goes into reverse
To give us smaller bombs—and
worse.*

S. D. SMITH

not know of their rights or are too nervous to come forward, but as soon as a case comes to light officers of the group voluntarily take up the matter and if necessary will appear before the Tribunal.

There is the case of a young coloured South African woman who lives alone with her young son. Soon after coming to Britain her husband left her and for a time she lived a rather persecuted life—easy prey for bullying landlords. She heard about the Association and found resolute friends, who negotiated for her with a Rent Tribunal and secured a reduction in her rent. She took over the treasurership of the Association when the previous treasurer relinquished her duties to have a baby.

The whole outlook of a person may be changed by the knowledge that a body exists to protect his rights and to take a real interest in his well-being. Tenants thrown out by landlords are reinstated. Those terrorised by the near-thugs, often employed by the owners of some of the properties to frighten out those who can be replaced by tenants paying more, can ask for members of the Association to stay with them at danger periods.

At the national level

Associations such as St Stephen's are the true grass root societies of socialist co-operation, from which a decent society can grow. They are ready to tackle any injustice. At the national level they campaign against the Rent Act and other legislation for the defence of privilege at the cost of people's homes. They campaign against racial discrimination and in the case of St. Stephen's they have even petitioned the Home Secretary over alleged racial hostility on the part of some of the local police force.

At the local level they are concerned with the smallest amenity which may help to improve the life of an elderly resident. The Secretary of the Association, Stuart Douglass, is a playwright, and some of the experiences he has met with helped him to write his play about West Indians in London—"Big Brain Man"—which appeared on ITV on September 11.

"Tommy" Farr, Stuart Douglass, Mr. & Mrs. Brown and the other leaders, English, Irish, West Indian and Cypriot, feel as do Michael Scott and Direct Actionists in their field. They are not content to just voice protest; they go out and act when there are wrongs to be righted.

steady growth of a world-wide movement for peace and disarmament for the first time in history; the rapid spread of the revolt against racial discrimination; and, above all, the activities of the young people who fired the first Aldermaston explosion, thus vindicating the present generation and confounding the pessimistic detractors of modern youth.

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ALBERT LUTHULI'S FINE

SINCE publishing our report on September 9 that Mr. Albert Luthuli was fined £100 by a Pretoria, South Africa, court for burning his pass book, we learn that the fine was paid immediately out of Christian Action's Defence and Aid Fund and not by Mr. Luthuli.

*"Very glad to commend this
informative booklet"*

VERA BRITAIN

**war
outmoded**

A GUIDE TO THOUGHT AND ACTION

by

ANTHONY WEAVER, M.A.

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HOUSMANS LONDON

5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Khrushchev at UN . . .

KHRUSHCHEV's first words when announcing his New York plans were not on the Congo. They were on disarmament. When he stepped ashore from the Baltika on Monday he immediately returned to this theme. It is worth noting his language:

"If differences between us increase . . . the impending menace not only to the United States and the Soviet Union but to the whole world as well is plain to all. . . . Stable peace on earth can be established only when all weapons are scrapped. So long as these weapons are loaded and are kept in a holster strapped around one's waist, neither one nor the other side will ever rest assured that somewhere a chance conflict will not flare up."

"The cardinal question of present-day international relationships: the problem of general and complete disarmament and of the appropriate strict international control. . . . I shall spare no effort in making such (peace) propaganda until even the thick-skulled convince themselves of the necessity to reach agreement on general disarmament and thereby ensure world peace. . . . I am convinced that relations between our great countries will improve. . . . However dark the night, dawn invariably breaks."

Khrushchev has returned without hesitation or watering down to his message of complete disarmament, and this represents a significant victory for him over his Top Brass, dogmatists and more belligerent comrades in Peking.

There is a very real problem here, for there are two sides to Khrushchev. On the one hand he talks in more realistic terms about the question of armaments than any other world statesman; on the other he is a ruthless dictator who shut his eyes to Stalin's reign of terror and later showed in Hungary the ultimate values on which his empire is founded. The fellow-travellers see only the first side of the picture, the New York demonstrators only the second.

If the Soviet leader and his Western counterparts (who also represent varieties of inhumanity) do manage eventually to come to some sort of working agreement about disarmament and spheres of influence, it will probably be on the basis of the values they share. It will be controlled by the men who smashed Hungary, jelly-petrol bombed Cuba, tortured Algeria and carved empires out of Africa.

An arrangement over the heads of people to alter the whole context of power politics is not necessarily an attractive prospect for human values. There are few stronger arguments for ordinary men and women to make disarmament their own business.

. . . Wall St. tremors

COMMENTARY

by

Christopher Farley

markets there their worst day for five years. The Dow-Jones Industrial Share Index—the recognised yardstick of market prices—fell 15 points to its lowest level since February, 1959.

Every time there is a serious threat to the future of arms production and allied industries, the American economy shudders. This latest example—combined with the outspoken hostility in Peking to Khrushchev's "peaceful co-existence" theories—indicates a growing awareness in some of the most perceptive circles of the possibility of action replacing verbiage on the arms race.

There was an extremely sharp break on Wall Street in August, 1959, when missile, aircraft and electronic shares fell heavily at the news that Khrushchev was going to meet Eisenhower. This is the madness of capitalism: any alternative to the present arms race would bring panic and disaster to the American economy. There is no plan to meet such consequences, and until one is produced Communist charges of insincerity must inevitably carry weight.

Total apartheid . . .

THE Nationalist Government in South Africa has not moved from its intention to establish total apartheid. There is plenty of evidence in White business circles of concern for the country's economy, and this is not limited to watching reserves fall. Manufacturers have also begun exporting goods without the "Made in South Africa" label because of the power of the international boycott.

There is a growing realisation that the country's name abroad stinks, and Dr. Verwoerd may well be considering the need for the sort of massive publicity campaign that Sir Roy Welensky is now running for the Federation. But as long as opposition abroad remains rooted in amorphous moral abomination, the Nationalists no doubt reckon they can win through.

This makes it imperative that much more attention be paid to specific charges laid against the Government. For this reason a blanket denial of all the facts and allegations in this issue of *Peace News* (although several of them have been published elsewhere before) would be of value to the campaign against apartheid. It would ease the way for worse material which must soon end its private circulation and be published.

recently that the man at the greyhound track who follows the dogs, shovelling up their dirt, has the second worst job in the world—the worst is that of the South African Government's agents whose job is to trail faithfully behind their masters disposing of anything unpleasant that comes to sight.

It will be interesting, incidentally, to see if they try that old stand-by, the Communist smear. One or two of PN's sources have been or are associated with Communists in South Africa, which normally would please the authorities no end, as they can then be written off. Opposition to Fascist-type governments, however, is not as simple as that.

Although totalitarianism has to be countered wherever it is met, it is in conditions such as these that independent and Moscow-controlled opposition inevitably come closest together, and it is only when Moscow's friends start behaving as ruthlessly as they did in Spain in the Thirties that a united front is abandoned. It is one of the additional evils of Fascism that it throws together groups which are opposed to each other's fundamentals.

. . . open resistance?

THE South African situation raises again in a dramatic form a problem that has always been central to campaigns against authoritarianism: that of secrecy and openness. There are excellent reasons—both moral and expedient—for conducting campaigns on a Gandhian basis of complete openness with one's opponents. Once secrecy is resorted to the conflict inevitably becomes more bitter and brutal.

But even Gandhi discovered that the British soon knew they simply had to arrest in advance all the various ranks of leadership. Other rulers, moreover, have not felt even the limited restraint of the British in India. When the Nazis took over Austria they demanded from one war-resister the names of all his comrades. The names were at once furnished—on the basis of complete openness—and the Nazis murdered the lot.

One of the contributors to *Peace News* this week, Mr. Z. Sonkosi, has chosen the other method. He has resorted to forgery, deceit and lying in South Africa to obtain information that he could almost certainly have got in no other way. He no doubt felt that the power of the Government was so great that honesty was no longer relevant (and he now has to live in exile in Tanganyika).

There is no obvious answer to such a real dilemma. There is, however, the important consideration which I was arguing in these columns last week: that once one has lost conventional civil liberties the temptation to abandon the essentials of non-violence becomes very strong. Anyone seriously interested in resistance to racial or military arrogance must therefore automatically be concerned for liberal values and civil rights.

The crucial time in any campaign is thus while certain liberties still exist but while people are probably still

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An arrangement over the heads of people to alter the whole context of power politics is not necessarily an attractive prospect for human values. There are few stronger arguments for ordinary men and women to make disarmament their own business.

... Wall St. tremors

ONCE again we have had the sorry spectacle of a sharp "breakthrough" in Wall Street stock markets as Khrushchev entered the United States. There was a wave of selling in New York on Monday which gave

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There is no doubt that nothing but such a denial will come from the ciphers at the High Commissioner's office in London. Bernard Levin observed in *The Spectator*

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The crucial time in any campaign is thus while certain liberties still exist, but while people are probably still apathetic. The difference between the liberal and radical, however, is that the latter does not see these liberties as an end in themselves.

Disciplining the press

IN Bloemfontein the Congress of Afrikaans Chambers of Commerce has called upon the Government to bring about "the essential and permanent discipline of the South African press." This had to be done, the Congress added, in the interests of the country's economy.

The Congress also asked the press not to publish certain items which "would be used in neighbouring and overseas countries to harm South Africa's economy, especially if such news items are not based on fact," the *Daily Telegraph's* Cape Town correspondent reported on September 14.

The Minister for Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, said in Wolmaransstad (Transvaal) last Saturday that the English-language press in South Africa would be "put in its place by their own people when South Africa becomes a republic."

Non-violent struggle

MR. KENNETH KAUNDA, president of the United National Independence Party, Northern Rhodesia's major African political organisation, told a meeting about 1,500 strong in Lusaka last Saturday that the territorial Government intended arresting the Party's senior officials before next month—the month by which the Party has been demanding self-government.

"If they remove the leaders," Mr. Kaunda continued, "they should not blame us for what happens afterwards."

According to a *Guardian* correspondent,

however, he several times appealed to his followers not to resort to violence, and urged them to "get ready for a non-violent struggle."

Mass trial in Angola

THE International Commission of Jurists in Geneva has been harrassing the Portuguese Government on behalf of the accused in a mass trial in Luanda, Angola. The charges concerned distribution of a seditious pamphlet.

The trial proceeded without a leading defence lawyer and an observer from the Commission, both of whom were kept out by the Government.

Seven Europeans were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment, preventative detention and loss of civil rights. About 50 Africans awaited trial.

Missiles for Japan

JAPAN'S "Self Defence Forces" are continuing their slow build-up with a second five-year plan now under study.

Plans to equip all three arms of the Forces with guided missiles are under study, according to a report in *The Guardian* on September 7, in which Hessel Tiltman wrote up an exclusive interview with the Director-General of the Defence Agency.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Intensified radio jamming

NEW jamming stations for cutting out Western broadcasts have been set up in Russia and Eastern Europe since the collapse of the summit conference in May.

According to a report prepared on behalf of the Council of Europe by Dr. Agnes Maxsein, a Deputy for Berlin in the West German Bundestag, there are now more than 2,000 jamming units gathered together in 225 stations, of which 125 are in Russia.

China and UN (cont.)

THE Soviet Union has asked the UN General Assembly to consider the Chinese representation issue at its 1960 session, which opened on Tuesday.

Besides stating the usual liberal arguments for Communist China's entry into UN, Foreign Minister Gromyko also argued that that Government "is consistently pursuing a peaceful foreign policy."

The Chinese representation question has been before the Assembly in one form or another at each session since 1950. From 1956-59 an agenda item has been submitted each year by India. The USSR presented a formal item in 1951, and in other years it has raised the issue either as a point of order at the opening meeting of the Assembly or in the form of a challenge to credentials.

For the last four years the Assembly—under the recommendation of its steering committee—has approved resolutions under which it rejected the request for consideration of the item and also decided not to consider, at its current session, any proposals to exclude representatives of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Chinese People's Republic.

In each case the resolution was originally submitted by the United States.



British policemen do not need to carry arms to cope with crimes of violence, the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Kilmuir, said in Ottawa on September 14. He added that they could draw arms in an emergency. The Lord Chancellor had no doubts that capital punishment was a deterrent to murder.

India and Pakistan signed an agreement in Karachi on Monday—the Indus Water Treaty—after 13 years of controversy and negotiation about the division between the two countries of the waters of the Indus and its tributaries.

John Stonehouse, MP, who was already persona non grata in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was declared a prohibited immigrant on September 14 by the South African Government and deported.

The former SS general, Sepp Dietrich, was asked by the Austrian authorities on September 14 to leave the country, after a protest by the Austrian resistance movement against his presence.

THIS IS SOUTH AFRICA'S SLAVE RACKET

By Z. Sonkosi

AS a South African writer I determined to find out about the disappearance of African youths. At the time—July, 1960—already more than 80,000 youths (most of them still attending school) were reported missing from various parts of the Union and more especially from the reserves.

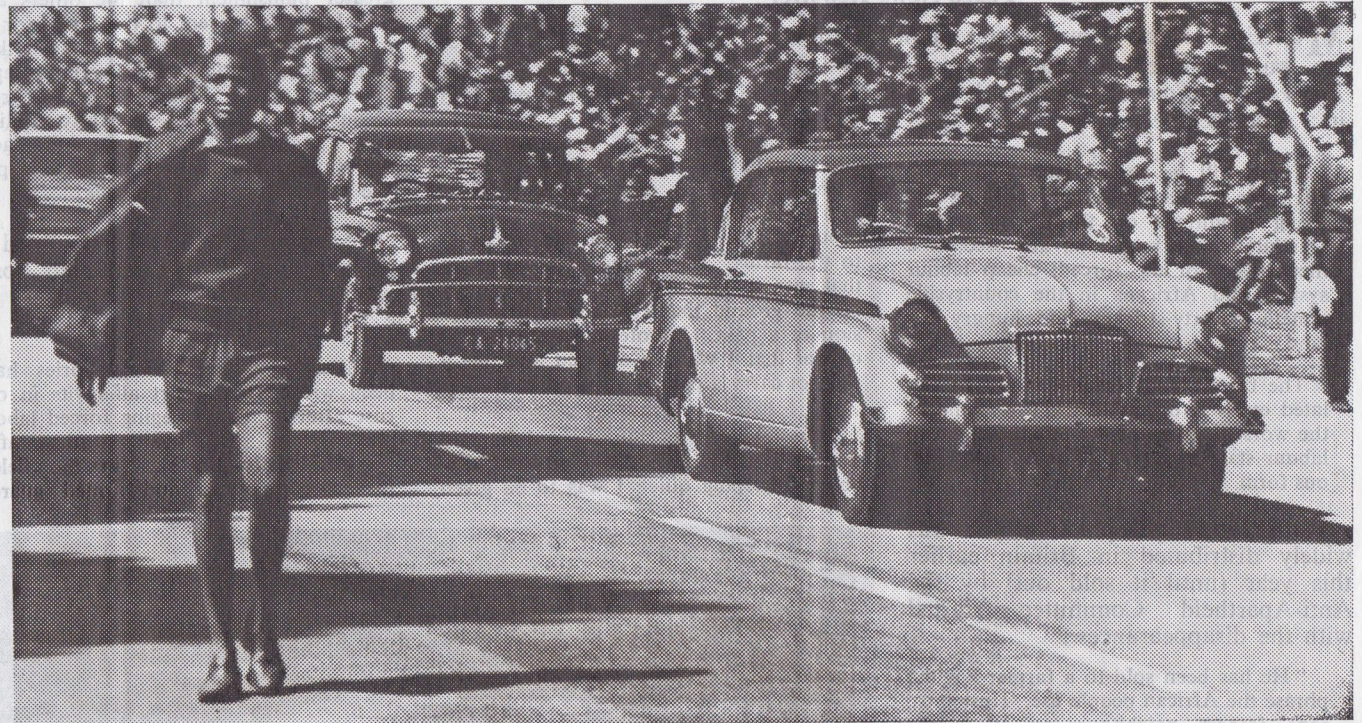
I was suspicious that they were in jail for "Pass" offences. On July 1 I met an African social worker in Alexandra Township, a filthy township nine miles out of Johannesburg, crowded with a population of 95,000 Africans—and a high rate of tuberculosis, venereal diseases and pellagra. This social worker told me that the Government through its police was running a big slave labour pool for farm work in a camp in Dennilton, near Grobblersdal, Northern Transvaal (a Nationalist Party stronghold).

I journeyed for a day by car to this slave camp disguised as a Government social worker, and had forged papers identifying me as a civil servant.

At the camp I was met by the Warden, the Rev. S. Mokoena, who told me that he held an MA degree from a University in the United States. I later discovered that he had never been in America and had hardly passed standard IV—and this was the type of man-chaplain-warder at the camp. The Rev. Mokoena is a member of the Dutch Reformed Church and a Sotho-speaking African. At the camp, which is spread over a large area, there are more than 40 instructors, most of them ex-police constables.

Sold to farmers

As I was given VIP treatment I managed to see the most shocking things at this camp. There were at the time more than 800 youths being trained in farming and agriculture, and in the Nationalists' type of religion in the evenings. I was told by the Rev. Mokoena that all the youths who qualify are sold as slaves to farmers in various parts of South Africa and South West Africa—where they are expected to



This is South Africa, 1960: 21-year-old Philip Kgosana leads the non-violent march of the 30,000 on Cape Town on March 30, demanding no passes and a fixed minimum wage. He was promised an interview with the Minister of Justice—but instead was arrested.

Cape Times

—where he got his slaves from—and I had come to find out if these slaves were not too lazy to work for him.

He was impressed by this and he handed me a sjambok he had in his hand which was stained with blood, and said that he had just severely thrashed one of the newcomers for being slow in digging potatoes with his hands.

I was given tea in a mug and some buttered slices of bread by this man, who started speaking about the Nationalist Party and the good work it had done to help the farmers. He said that it was easy now to get cheap labour, and that this would continue as long as the Nationalists remained in power.

The time was 6.30 p.m. and more than 400 Africans, mostly youths, arrived at the

thrashing with sjamboks all those who slacked behind. There were cries all the time.

The foreman told me that they worked at a fast pace as they had to send these potatoes to the market and overseas. (It is because of conditions such as these that people abroad are being asked to support the economic boycott of South African goods.) The foreman said he would be dismissed by the Jewish owner of the farm if there was slow progress.

At lunch time the African slaves were given an interval of 10 minutes to eat boiled mealies and potatoes.

In the late afternoon one African who was obstinate was beaten to death by a Boss Boy and was carried away by four others to be buried secretly.

In the evening all the workers, dog tired,

Delmas, Springs, Zeerust, Mafeking, Klerksdorp Kinross, Volksrust and Heidelberg, at all of which the conditions are similar to the other farm I visited.

There are more than 1,900,000 Africans now working in these areas according to unconfirmed statistics of the Department of Bantu Affairs near the Dennilton Youth Camp. It should also be understood that there are four other Youth Camps for the slave trade—one in King Williamstown in the Cape, one in the Transkei, one in Bloemfontein and one in Van Rhyen, near Benoni.

Every day African youths on their way to school in various parts of the Union of South Africa disappear to these camps, then to farms as slaves. There is also the use of convict labour in these farms where there is a shortage of slaves.

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He told me that within the period January-April, 1960, more than 1,700 youths had passed through the camp and been sold to farmers. There is a Bantu Affairs Office near the camp which handles the contract and deal side of this slave racket. The parents of the youths are not notified in any way and the youths are not allowed to write to anyone.

They are guarded during the day by armed police as they receive training in the fields and by night are locked up in a big hall with doors locked and wild dogs guarding. The whole camp is surrounded by high barbed wire.

I was most shocked to find that some of the youths were between the ages of 10 and 16 years.

I told the Rev. Mokoena that I had been most impressed by the wonderful work they were doing at the camp, and which he wrongly called "rehabilitation work." Before I left I had managed to look through a big register with names and addresses of some of the farmers who bought slaves in the camp.

I visited one of these farms which use slave labour in Nigel District, Eastern Transvaal. As I neared the farm, I left the car and had to change into a khaki uniform. The farm is approximately 600 morgens (about 1,200 acres), growing maize, potatoes and beans mainly. The farm belongs to a Jew, and an Afrikaner is a foreman. (Most of the farm owners where slave labour is used are Jews, and very few are Afrikaners.)

I was met at the gate by the foreman, a Mr. Pretorius, who wanted to know who I was and what I wanted. I told him in Afrikaans that I was a prison social worker from Dennilton Youth Camp, Groblersdal

He said that he had to send these potatoes to the market and overseas. (It is because of conditions such as these that people abroad are being asked to support the economic boycott of South African goods.) The foreman said he would be dismissed by the Jewish owner of the farm if there was slow progress.

I was given tea in a mug and some buttered slices of bread by this man, who started speaking about the Nationalist Party and the good work it had done to help the farmers. He said that it was easy now to get cheap labour, and that this would continue as long as the Nationalists remained in power.

The time was 6.30 p.m. and more than 400 Africans, mostly youths, arrived at the farm compound, dressed in sacks and escorted by armed African "Boss Boys." They were straight from the fields.

Some of them had unbandaged wounds and some had blood streaming from their half-covered bodies. Their hands were full of blisters and swollen. Without even washing they were locked up in a big, crowded, dark room with no windows except air ventilators.

There were no blankets, beds or mattresses, but only sacks on which they had to sleep on the cold cement floor. First they were given a dinner of hard mealie—meal porridge—cold and looking as though it had been cooked five days before.

Coughing blood

Adjacent to where these workers were locked up was another room in which I found more than 40 Africans with acute tuberculosis and some bandaged because of serious wounds. Some were coughing blood. One of them who looked a bit better than the others told me that a private doctor did visit them once a week for medical treatment and that many had died without being taken to any recognised hospital. They slept on the floor on sacks.

Early the next day, the Africans were woken up by the "Boss Boys" and given a pint of Marewu—a drink of cold porridge—left overnight so as to taste sour. After that they were marched five miles to the potato field. The Boss Boys were on horseback on all sides and I and the farm foreman in a van.

In the field each African slave was allotted a row to finish at a specified time, and to see that there was progress the Boss Boys followed the Africans on horseback,

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At lunch time the African slaves were given an interval of 10 minutes to eat boiled mealies and potatoes.

In the late afternoon one African who was obstinate was beaten to death by a Boss Boy and was carried away by four others to be buried secretly.

In the evening all the workers, dog tired, returned to be locked up again—to nurse their pains for the night and prepare for the following day's humiliation and beating.

Many die daily

A Boss Boy I spoke to told me that many Africans died every day on the farm, and as far as he was concerned he had never seen a District Surgeon performing any post mortem on those who died. But he stated that all those who died had death certificates, which the farmer secured easily as he was on good terms with many police officials and more so because he bribed these officials. Everything illegal is legalised.

During that same night the foreman had to beat to death one slave who complained of a stomach upset. The foreman used a hosepipe in beating him as he alleged that "this kaffir is lazy."

I left this farm being very much more shocked than ever before. These Africans were paid not more than £3 a month, which in fact is only what they are told. They never receive any cash advances but only tobacco supplies and at times meat. The farmer stated that their wages went on these supplies.

Once a person gets tied up as a farm slave he has no hope of ever being free unless he escapes and thus risks being shot by the farmer or falling into the hands of the police—who arrest him and bring him back to the same farmer. And worst of all is that the South African Police never believe anything said by a "Native," meaning an African.

I also visited farms belonging to Jews and Afrikaners in Bethal, Witbank, Middelburg, Nylstroom, Rustenburg, Louis Tritchard, Pietersburg, Bronkspruit, Devon,

There are more than 1,900,000 Africans now working in these areas according to unconfirmed statistics of the Department of Bantu Affairs near the Dennilton Youth Camp. It should also be understood that there are four other Youth Camps for the slave trade—one in King Williamstown in the Cape, one in the Transkei, one in Bloemfontein and one in Van Rhyen, near Benoni.

Every day African youths on their way to school in various parts of the Union of South Africa disappear to these camps, then to farms as slaves. There is also the use of convict labour in these farms where there is a shortage of slaves.

Various newspapers in South Africa have been exposing this racket from time to time, but nothing drastic has been done to end it. It is high time the United Nations conducted a public enquiry into South Africa.

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Z. Sonkosi (see "Our contributors", page seven) also writes on page six.

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HOW FARM WORK IS 'OFFERED'

Peace News Reporter

MORE evidence about labourers on South Africa's farms (see page five) was published in Johannesburg in July last year. In a pamphlet entitled *The Farm Labour Scandal*, Ruth First gave further details and put the problem in a wider perspective:

There will be forced labour in South Africa as long as wages and working and living conditions on the farms remain scandalous, the pass laws are used as a mechanism for the forced, cheap labour system and Africans in the countryside remain poverty-stricken and hungry for land.

The farm labour scandal is not an isolated evil. It brings to the fore some of the worst features of the apartheid, cheap labour state and gives them a more hideous form.

Ruth First's pamphlet—which was widely distributed in Britain earlier this year (until it sold out) by the Anti-Apartheid Committee started with the disappearances:

"He has been sold to a farmer" is the phrase the African people use. Husbands, sons, fathers, neighbours set off in the morning and do not return at night. Wives and relatives make the rounds of the police stations, the jails, the hospitals, the mortuary. . . Others know to go to the offices of the Labour Bureau. . .

These men are arrested by the police for being out after curfew hour, for forgetting their pass books in a jacket back home, for failing to report to a labour bureau within 72 hours if they lose their jobs, for being in arrears with their taxes, for being in the city without a permit.

After their arrest the men are not brought to court; they do not appear before any magistrate; they are given no chance to defend themselves, to explain, to plead "not guilty," to pay a fine. And the maximum fine for these offences is a pound or two.

Instead they are "offered" work on a farm. Paul Anthony, a Coloured man

sent to a Leslie farm, described in a court statement the so-called "offer." "The (European) official separated us into two groups and said that the one group was to go to prison and the other to the farms. I was placed in the group that was to go to the farms, apparently on the ground that I was not in possession of a pass. I protested and told this official that I was a Coloured and that I did not carry a pass.

"He told me to shut up and he said that as I had shown that I was not capable of keeping quiet, I was to be given

greater punishment than the others and that I was to be sent to the farms for 12 months instead of six. The official then commenced writing on a certain paper and said to me, looking at me angrily, 'You get 12 months.' A Native Policeman caught me by the arm and placed my thumbprint on that piece of paper. We were returned to the cells. . ."

The pamphlet—which contained a monstrous photo of a mounted boss-boy, whip aloft, herding workers to the lands—continued:

Gruesome blood-chilling stories have been written into court affidavits in one case after another, alleging forced labour and brutal beatings; deaths after assaults; daily beatings in the fields; locked compounds and armed guards;

foul compounds infested with lice and rats.

After quoting conditions on the farms, Ruth First concluded:

One law after another has been passed in the Union to push the African off his land, to impoverish him and compel him to offer himself as a labourer in gold or coal mines, iron and steel foundries, factories and mills. . . . There will be poverty in the countryside till the reserve system is scrapped and Africans have the right to own and farm land freely. Men will try to find work in the towns as long as they are starving in the rural slums. Men will have to be kidnapped, shanghaied and driven to work on the farms as long as farm labourers have no wage increase, no improved conditions and no rights.



Johannesburg, city of wealth and squalor. In the background can be seen the gold mines, symbol of this contrast.

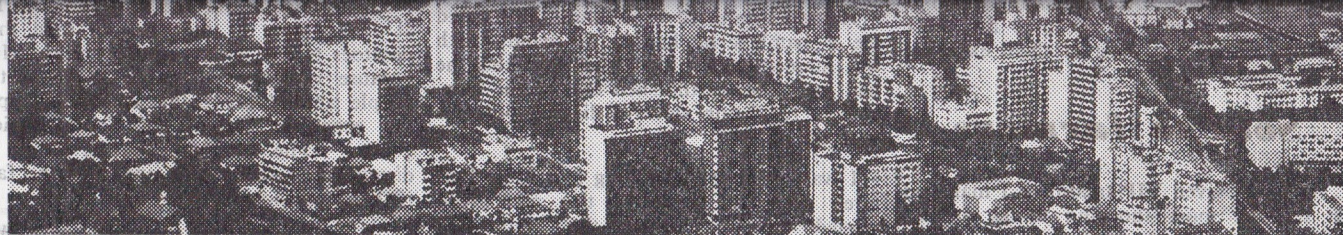
Photo: S. African Inf. Service.

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home, for failing to report to a labour bureau within 72 hours if they lose their jobs, for being in arrears with their taxes, for being in the city without a permit.

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Johannesburg, city of wealth and squalor. In the background can be seen the gold mines, symbol of this contrast.

Photo : S. African Inf. Service.

Secret trials in South Africa

AFTER a trip to various farms in the Transvaal, I was given information on July 12 by certain farm prisoners about secret trials going on in a former gold mine compound, "Modder B," near Benoni, which had been turned into a prison and secret court.

So I asked a friend of mine to check up on me at Modder B if I had not returned within 24 hours.

The time was 7 p.m. when the doors of Modder B prison were opened for me. An official demanded my credentials before admitting me. I produced my forged "official" document, of which this official—who was an Afrikaner—pretended to understand the contents, though he looked ignorant. I was then allowed in.

Secret court

Inside I mingled with African prison warders and posed as a Security Branch detective to them, as there were other Security Branch men inside. I was told by some of these

warders that a magistrate from Benoni was expected anytime to sit in a secret court in the prison to try some of the African politicians who were being arrested during the "State of Emergency" for vagrancy and creating disturbances.

At 7.30 p.m. in a spacious room in the prison the magistrate, prison warders and Security Branch men assembled in chairs—and I was among them. A group of 22 African politicians—most of whom I knew—were ushered into the centre of the room, facing the magistrate. A Security Branch man stated that they were being charged with vagrancy and creating disturbances—and that they were expected not to waste the Court's time trying to argue against these charges as they would be locked up and face solitary confinement.

The Africans looked miserable and lean, and showed signs of despair and discontent in their faces. Their clothes were torn. They did not utter one word, and the magistrate sent-

enced all of them to two years' imprisonment in a farm colony—"Leeuwkop Farm Prison" near Pretoria.

It is said that conditions in this farm are worse than any other prison in the world. People die and nothing happens. Very few come back from this prison, and even then only to last a few days and die. Others return mentally deranged.

After being sentenced these 22 men were loaded into a military lorry and taken away by night under full guard to Leeuwkop Farm Prison. The magistrate left, and as everyone mingled out I managed to get out of this devilish compound.

Saved by a friend

I was arrested outside on my way to Benoni for trespassing in a Government Area. Fortunately I was taken to Springs Charge Office, where my friend secured my release by paying an admission of guilt of £5—and thus safeguarding me from also being taken to a farm prison.

In Boksburg an old Fort "Cinderella" has been turned into a political prison where Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, President of the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress, and his supporters are serving their three years' jail sentences. Here reports of torture

have been confirmed by some of the African warders.

Already four Africans, including the 59-year-old Johannesburg Chairman of the Pan-Africanist Congress, George Zwile Siwisa, have been tortured to death by members of the Special Branch who frequent the jail by night to interrogate political prisoners.

Already Mr. Robert Sobukwe is reported to be suffering from tuberculosis and many others are broken in spirit.

Ghastly things go on

An African warder told me that ghastly things go on in "Cinderella Prison"—Africans being beaten up by members of the Special Branch at night to submit to interrogation and disclose political information.

Most shocking has been the death of John Kamanga, the President of the Malawi Congress in South Africa in the prison on June 26. He is alleged to have been beaten to death by the Special Branch who were trying to secure information for the Nyasaland Special Branch on the atrocities of the Malawi Congress Party and their part in the South African resistance structure.

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Our special correspondent also writes on page five.

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SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

PEACE NEWS, September 23rd, 1960—7

The political faith of the twentieth century

Imperialism and Social Reform, by Bernard Semmel. Allen & Unwin. 28s.

THIS startling book, by an American writer who has obviously studied very closely the English political scene in the twentieth century, brings vividly before us, in a way not previously attempted, the operation of political and economic forces in the Britain of 1895-1914 and even after the First World War, and shows how similar they were to those which produced National Socialism and Fascism on the Continent.

It is not a book which most readers of *Peace News* will enjoy reading. It is rather a book which many will want to lay down in disgust, because of strong disapproval of the ideas and sentiments expressed. But it would be a mistake to do this. It should be read through. The facts it states are on the whole correct. The views it records were actually held and expressed by the persons to whom they are attributed. One should ask oneself, if one disapproves of the policies proposed, "What practical and effective alternative can I suggest? Was there any alternative at the time? Is any better policy possible today?" It is very easy to criticise the policies of governments and politicians. It is not always easy to suggest better ones which are practicable.

Many older readers will find the book

Our contributors

Harold Bing, who is Chairman of the War Resisters International, is a former Lecturer in History at Hull University.

Freda Hudson is a psychiatric social worker.

Sheila Jones worked on the development of the atomic bomb as a physicist during the war. Her views changed and in 1950 she became Secretary of the Atomic Scientists Association formed by a group of scientists repelled by the A-bombing of

fascinating because it throws much light on the personalities of politics of that twilight period between the date at which the starlight of their school study of history left off and their daylight adult memory of history begins—the period of late Victorian imperialism and the Boer War, of the Liberal Victory of 1906, and the era of Liberal social reforms, of the rise of the Labour Party, and of the internal and external crises which preceded the First World War.

The leading characters are household names, Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Rosebery, Asquith and Lloyd George and

BOOKS

Grey; the Webbs and Bernard Shaw; Milner and Roberts and Blatchford. So familiar and yet somehow so distant they seem to us in the 1960s! Yet one or two of those who figure in these pages have outlived their generation and are still with us, e.g., Winston Churchill and Bertrand Russell.

Dr. Semmel's very thorough research has put a rather new interpretation on much of that pre-1914 history. The contrasts between Tory Imperialism, pacific, social-reform Liberalism, and internationalist Socialism, which exist in most of our

minds are shown to be an over-simplification.

In all parties there was a recognition of the need for social reform, though the motives might vary from a desire for social justice to that of avoiding class war or providing a strong and loyal man-power basis for imperialism. In all parties there was a strong imperialist tendency whether to serve selfish economic interests—of financiers, or industrialists, or workers—or for idealised "White man's burden" motives. Political differences on these matters were within the major political parties rather than between them.

To most readers, I imagine, it will come rather as a shock to learn how nationalist and imperialist were the leading members of the Fabian Society—how they were impressed by the organisation and disciplined efficiency of Germany and considered it an example to be followed. No wonder that Bertrand Russell with his deep belief in personal freedom was forced to part company with them!

Social Imperialism, although not a new term, is one which has not hitherto secured very general currency in English political theory. It is likely to become more widely used. The author says that it was "designed to draw all classes together in defence of the nation and empire and aimed to prove to the least well-to-do class that its interests were inseparable from those of the nation. It aimed at undermining the argument of the socialists and demonstrating that, contrary to the Marxist allegation, the workers had more to lose than their chains."

EVOLUTION AND DEMOLITION

*I thank the amoeba for
My stomach juice's wonderful flow;
The fish for my backbone;
The frog for lungs;
And all animals for
My skeleton;
The tree-top apes, and all simians,
For my curved brain, and thumbs.
And I report to them, that we,
The inheritors of all land and sea,
May, with our bomb,
Destroy the fruit of millions of years,
Our children—
Ourselves as well, of course,
And, incidentally, all them.*

NORMAN ILES.

Such an argument was not likely to carry much weight with unemployed slum-dwellers. Imperialists therefore became social reformers because "Class oppression could be disastrous in case of war since 'the oppressed' might feel that they would hardly get worse terms from a new master." Similarly those whose primary aim was social reform looked to imperialist policies as a means of financing a higher living standard at home.

When one realises the extent of the acceptance and indoctrination of this social imperialism, it is no longer surprising that in 1914, the workers of all countries forgot the pacifist and internationalist resolutions passed at so many socialist and trade union conferences and lined up behind their respective governments.

On the whole I found this a depressing book to read—but a salutary one. I recommend you to keep on to the end. In the final paragraph the writer illumines the gloom with a ray of hope!

HAROLD BING

Survival and the Bomb

Survival. Edited by John M. Fowler. MacGibbon and Kee. 18s.

WHAT are the prospects of surviving a nuclear war? Perhaps for

doors would be "a silent oven of death."

Certain physical factors such as cold,

Put briefly, it can be said that the odds against damage from fall-out are sufficiently

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Sheila Jones worked on the development of the atomic bomb as a physicist during the war. Her views changed and in 1950 she became Secretary of the Atomic Scientists Association formed by a group of scientists appalled by the A-bombing of Japan. She is a former member of the Executive Committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Married with two daughters.

Michael Randle is former Chairman of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and a member of the Sahara A-protest team. He returned to Ghana recently to help to set up a training centre in non-violence.

Michael Scott, a Church of England clergyman, is Hon. Director of the Africa Bureau in London and spokesman at UN for the Herero people of South West Africa. He was imprisoned in South Africa for his stand against apartheid.

Jack Shepherd, a former warden of the Friends International Centre in London, is a writer for TV and Radio.

Z. Sonkosi is an African who took a BA degree in social sciences at the University of South Africa, Pretoria. A former senior welfare officer in Alexandra Township, he resigned through frustration at the plight of the people and became a free-lance journalist in order to make further enquiries into their real conditions. For the past four years he has been an attendee at meetings of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Johannesburg.

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DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

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Survival and the Bomb

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WHAT are the prospects of surviving a nuclear war? Perhaps few of us care to contemplate the aftermath, despite the soporific propaganda of the Civil Defence advertisements and the bracing reassurance of the "One in Five" talks.

To us in Britain the odds against survival, whoever presses the button, seem pretty grim. In America or Russia, however, where there are large land masses, the prospects are apparently more favourable, according to estimates made by experts on the effects of a 3,000 megaton attack on the United States, presented at the Congressional hearings on nuclear war in 1959.

Of course, we may well ask, why limit it to this figure? It is almost as unlikely as considering the effects of one twenty-megaton bomb on London, as is done in planning Civil Defence exercises here. A 20,000 megaton attack on the United States would kill 95 per cent of the population (if unsheltered), and present stockpiles of nuclear weapons are more than adequate to spread radio-active lethality over an entire continental land mass.

John Fowler, Assistant Professor of Physics in Washington University, and editor of this collection of articles by ten American scientists and Congressman Hollifield, summarises the evidence given at the Congressional hearings, and considers that on the basis of the conservative assumption of a 3,000 megaton attack, a skilful and resourceful individual outside the ring of complete destruction and the lethal umbrella of fall-out might survive, although the out-

doors would be "a silent oven of death."

Certain physical factors such as cold, shielding of parts of the body and dehydration of the tissues (e.g., by drinking alcohol) give some protection against radiation damage, and in the case of a surprise nuclear attack, the individuals most likely to survive the radiation would be those "caught dead drunk in an underground cold-storage room." "One in Five" speakers, please note!

However, this book is not mainly concerned with the question of survival after a nuclear war—its real purpose is to consider survival more realistically in terms of possibilities of preventing the ultimate insanity. The issues that have stalemated the international negotiations on the control of nuclear weapons, including the prolonged arguments over the detection of bomb tests, are clearly presented in this book. To those who have argued for many years that "ending the tests" is the first goal in the struggle to achieve total disarmament, here is powerful reinforcement.

In the present atmosphere of mounting tension and general disillusionment on the usefulness of summit talks, an agreement to end tests would be a symbolic as well as concrete step along the road to sanity. It would permit the substitution of co-operation for competition between the nuclear Powers.

The fall-out hazard from nuclear tests is put into clear perspective in this book in an up-to-date and readable form. This issue has been dogged by contradictions and ambiguities for too long, but after reading the assessments of available evidence by these experts, this aspect of the nuclear disarmament campaign should be better appreciated.

book to read—but a salutary one. I recommend you to keep on to the end. In the final paragraph the writer illumines the gloom with a ray of hope!

HAROLD BING

Put briefly, it can be said that the odds against damage from fall-out are sufficiently high to preclude any special concern for the safety of one's own family or circle of friends, in comparison with other hazards to which we are all exposed. But the fact that the number who will be seriously damaged is not zero means that we must continue to be vigilant about rising levels of fall-out. However, let it be remembered, that a major famine, which by sufficient common effort might be prevented, would easily do more damage to life than fall-out will.

To be effective contributors in the struggle for peace we must be well informed. Much factual and easily assimilated information can be obtained from this book, but it is chiefly to be recommended for its constructive aspects of our nuclear future.

SHEILA JONES

'MEN OF PEACE'

Peace News invites you to the first of a series of social evenings to further the work of the peace pioneers after whom the rooms at its offices are named

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An experiment with delinquency

They Steal for Love, by Anthony Weaver. Max Parrish. 12s. 6d.

ANTHONY WEAVER believes that the chief human needs are love, companionship and expression, and that through the satisfaction of these a person becomes more mature. At Lammas, a hostel for a group of emotionally disturbed children with delinquent tendencies, he had an opportunity to put his philosophy into practice. **THEY STEAL FOR LOVE** is an account of his experience.

The sub-title "An Experiment in Education and Psychiatry with Children and Parents" leads to expectations which unfortunately are unfulfilled. The author has attempted too much. To integrate psychiatric material with the expression of an educational philosophy, plus an account of, and reflections on, almost every aspect of residential work with maladjusted children, is no easy task.

This is a very short book, and the result is confusion in both style and presentation. The psychiatric material is too unco-ordinated to provide any new evaluation for experts in the field, while verbatim reports on psychiatric and casework interviews are unlikely to be fully appreciated by the layman, and their inclusion is irrelevant.

Nevertheless for many, this book will bring new insight. There are some detailed and revealing case-histories on individual children, and a frank description of the difficulties that beset a staff which tries to

meet hostility and aggression with love and forbearance, giving the children opportunities for the development of satisfactory relationships, and means of expression through play and creative pursuits.

An experiment such as this demands examination of the results and their significance. There is no actual analysis set out in this book, but if one studies the follow-up reports, it appears that whereas most of the children had flourished emotionally while at Lammas, when they returned to the outside world, in particular their parents, many of them relapsed into their former undesirable behaviour.

★

Does this indicate that non-punitive methods are not the most satisfactory way of dealing with delinquents? Although Anthony Weaver does not attempt to justify his methods, he refers to the work of pioneers in the field of delinquency such as August Aichorn, and Homer Lane, and to reputable educationalists and psychoanalysts who have "made sense" to him. One of these is Ian Suttie, who, in **THE ORIGINS OF LOVE AND HATE**, suggests that the roots of anxiety and aggression lie in a disturbed early maternal love relationship, and that companionship and interests are the socially acceptable substitutes for the direct love-caressing relationship with the mother when that is no longer available.

Although this theory may be clinically sound, when applied practically to the

treatment of delinquents, the results are not significantly successful. The success rate in the "free" Borstals and approved schools is as high, but using the admittedly limited criteria of non-reappearance in court, there is no evidence that it is any higher than that of their more rigid counterparts. Indeed, the Borstal Prediction Tables compiled by Mannheim and Wilkins suggest that it is possible to predict success or failure to a great degree of accuracy before the delinquents starts his training regardless of the institution to which he is sent.

It would seem, therefore, that the surest justification for more liberal institutions in the treatment of delinquency, is at the moment, humanitarianism.

The results also provoke concern about the number of breakdowns among delinquents and disturbed people returning from a protected environment to the outside world. The case-histories of the children from Lammas tell the familiar stories of inadequate and rejecting parents, themselves leading unhappy and unsatisfactory lives. Anthony Weaver does not blame them, and although he sees our present society also as inadequate and rejecting in

its attitudes to social failures, he does not believe that a solution lies merely in increased social provision.

He believes that society will need to modify its attitudes. He does not enlarge upon this but refers favourably to organisations such as Family Service Units and the Kibbutzim in Israel where results are still inconclusive. The author's values are more evident than proof of their validity. Nevertheless, one is reminded of Richard Titmuss's view that the attitude that society adopts towards its deviants reflects its ultimate values. Perhaps also society is unable to accept its weaker members in a positive way, as we, as individuals, often fail to accept the weaker parts of ourselves.

★

THEY STEAL FOR LOVE is not an important book. It may justifiably be described as scrappy. But at least it contains material that stimulates reflection on the problems of the inadequate citizen. For those who wish to reflect further there is a bibliography; the books mentioned are very readable but inclined to be selective in outlook.

FREDA HUDSON.

AFRICAN QUESTION MARK

Black Government, by Kenneth Kaunda and Colin Morris. United Society for Christian Literature. 7s. 6d.

VIEWED from outer space Africa looks like a great question mark on the planet earth, and one which faces what in our dimension we should call the "West." And a question it is as this dialogue between Kenneth Kaunda and Colin Morris makes very clear.

Perhaps one of the most damaging things that has been done to Africa under colonial rule has been not so much the physical violence which can be repaired but the spiritual and mental violence which turns generosity into resentment, patience and respect for order into rage and hatred by the oft repeated pattern of "too little and



Laments and laughter

ANY reader of this paper of a few years' standing and average I.Q. should be able to spot the author of the following lines:

Once more Isaiah speaks,
And through the synagogue his words
are heard:

Who is this man who seeks
For present meaning in the buried word?
The parson talks of heresy and schism,
Colonel Barabbas murmurs, 'Anarchism,'
And old Sir Thomas Dives, CBE.

Nehru were not suicides nor lunatics. Could there be more to it than met the eye?

Looking back, I cannot help marvelling at the insight of those few of my fellow countrymen who were wise *before* the event. Reginald Reynolds was one of them.

Ask me no riddles of how things end,
For this is the secret of chaos and night:
*There is no end save the coming of light,
No end save beginning.*

Religious groupings and habits meant little to Reg until it dawned upon him that

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And old Sir Thomas Dives, CBE,
Counts with alarm the debtors he could
free.

Correct. Reginald Reynolds. And I hope that any reader more recent will accept this as an introduction. This is not one of his *New Statesman* satires, but part of a series of 42 poems called *THE LOADSTONE*, published by Friends Home Service Committee at 5s.

Nobody could diagnose a corrupted thought so well as Reg Reynolds, nor could anyone so well scrub it with the clean caustic of his wit; and what makes his caustic so precious is the healing power rising from his deep sincerity and concern.

Christus natus est

Chanticleer cries;

Quando? Quando?

Quacks the duck, in surprise;

Hac nocte, hac nocte

The barking dog replies.

It does not then surprise me that this valuable little book, at which he worked for years, and never really finished, takes for its theme lines from William Law:

"When, therefore, the first spark of a desire after God arises in thy soul, cherish it . . . it is nothing less than a touch of the divine Loadstone, that is to draw thee out of the vanity of Time into the riches of Eternity."

In 1942 I was a sailor of sorts, and our ship put in at Bombay. Extraordinary things were happening ashore. Walls were chalked "Quit India" and "Englishmen, Go Home" (a procedure most of us would willingly have adopted had we been free to do so), civil disobedience was being preached; Gandhi and Nehru were being marched off to jail. It seemed, on the face of it, that civil disobedience and passive resistance, in the light of a highly probable Japanese invasion, were ideas suicidal and lunatic. Yet I knew that Gandhi and

Nehru were not suicides nor lunatics. Could there be more to it than met the eye?

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Religious groupings and habits meant little to Reg until it dawned upon him that when Jesus came into Galilee saying "The Kingdom of God is among you," *he meant what he said*. Suddenly Gandhi and John Woolman sprang into a perspective gloriously right.

Who renders unto Caesar, he confines
God's Kingdom to the Athanasian Creed;
Nor his the superscription
Upon the coin. He chooses
Not in this world his Kingdom.

The Primate smiles. What does God
need?

Heads—Herod wins, and tails—God
loses.

The Christian Church is a heart-breaking phenomenon. One yearns over it, and agonises for it, and weeps at its talents for self-mutilation. Kenneth Barnes, in a foreword, writes of Reg Reynolds: "To him religion seemed its own worst enemy when it becomes turned in upon itself, concerned with the survival of its organisation and therefore with power."

Till, long forgetful of his scars
They worshipped Mammon in the
Church of Mars—

Witness his banners—Pilate sings his
praise,

And Dives in the pew for which he pays;
And did he die for this?

And, lest we relax in the notion that we have escaped this betrayal, it should be remembered that in one of his last articles contributed to this paper, Reginald Reynolds confessed to a feeling of isolation and spiritual loneliness, even among the kindred souls of this following. The way of a prophet is hard.

Not for the pedant, the mathematician,
The embalmer of truth, the cold pre-
cisian,

Not for the proud and not for the clever,
But here in the heart, for ever and ever,
And in God's Zero Hour—or never.

JACK SHEPHERD.

VIEWED from outer space Africa looks like a great question mark on the planet earth, and one which faces what in our dimension we should call the "West." And a question it is as this dialogue between Kenneth Kaunda and Colin Morris makes very clear.

Perhaps one of the most damaging things that has been done to Africa under colonial rule has been not so much the physical violence which can be repaired but the spiritual and mental violence which turns generosity into resentment, patience and respect for order into rage and hatred by the oft repeated pattern of "too little and too late." And then the complacent "We told you so." "Too soon and too far."

In some parts of Southern and Central Africa the destruction of non-violent African leadership (which is not the same as "moderate") is still going on, through the refusal to concede anything that could look like a success for them until they inevitably become discredited and the leadership passes out of their hands. Then the "show down" mentality brings in the Emergency measures, the shooting starts and the whole tragic cycle begins again.

This is why everyone who has interests in Africa, whether vested or unvested, should read this book *BLACK GOVERNMENT*.

Mr. Colin Morris represents so much of the best that Christianity and the radical tradition in the Western world has given to Africa from the days of the early explorers and the liberation of the slaves to the building of hospitals, schools and universities, courts of Justice, and, with some conspicuous absences, Parliament buildings.

Kenneth Kaunda, for his part, is the product of seed sown on fertile African soil. An African whose conception of the Christian religion has led him to resist the injustice and oppression which his people have suffered by the weapons of non-violence. He has triumphed over bitterness and resentment "by strength and submission" with generosity and the good humour which is so deep and yet so near the surface of the African personality if it is not spurned and repressed too much by the arrogance of "white superiority."

What the statesmen and politicians who control Africa's destiny today have yet to discover is how to meet the challenge of non-violence in a civilised manner. How to avoid repetition of the tragedy which



Advocate of non-violence, Chief Luthuli, exiled for five years in South Africa.

The destruction of non-violent African leadership is still going on.

follows from the failure to afford adequate constitutional channels and training and experience in politics and the art of government—the most difficult of all.

This book coming out just before the Monckton Commission on Central Africa reports and before the Conference on the future of the Federation, should help to avert another Kenya tragedy. It cannot be to the advantage of either East or West when the whole fate of civilisation is at stake that there should be a premium placed upon resort to violence, causing Africans to say with some probable truth that without Mau Mau they would not have got the concessions they now have.

From Kenya to the Congo was not very far. And there is the problem of South Africa and the South West Mandate looming ever large and more menacing. Central Africa could offer another alternative, and with men like Kaunda and Morris there is ground for hope that a more excellent way than the defeatism of apartheid can be found. It calls for all the spirit of adventure of the early explorers and pioneers in the creation of a new kind of civilisation in Africa.

MICHAEL SCOTT.

An interview with Michael Scott appears on page eleven.

TUC gets call for industrial action

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

IN the five months following the Sharpeville massacre, South Africa's reserves of gold and foreign assets fell by about a third. They are still dropping and for the first time are under £100,000,000—the widely accepted danger figure.

The August Review of the Standard Bank of Australia reflected the economic gloom of the country's industrialists and bankers:

"The boycott movement initiated by Malaya and Ghana is very much in thought—the trade statistics for 1959 show that exports of South African products of all types to those countries were valued at just over £5,000,000; a hesitancy in the consumer market continues to prevail; and there have been no major signs of a renewal of industrial investment by either local or overseas entrepreneurs."

Ronald Segal, the editor of *Africa South* (now in exile), has written a short pamphlet about the South African economy starting from this point. Entitled *Sanctions Against Apartheid**, it was distributed privately at the recent Trades Union Congress in the Isle of Man.

The pamphlet was distributed to the press on Tuesday, and refutes recent claims (reported in PN, August 5) about South African exports. Despite the international boycott of South African goods, these exports rose during the first half of this year. What was not mentioned, however, was that there has been a far greater rise in imports, so that—to quote the Standard Bank Review again—

"the visible adverse trade balance in the first half of this year was not only well in excess of the comparable figure last year but also almost equal to the full trading deficit incurred in the whole of 1959."

*Published by the South African Freedom Association Information Service, Abford House, Wilton Road, London, S.W.1.

The Department of Customs and Excise figures show an adverse balance of £59,800,000 for 1959. For the first half alone of 1960 it is already £54,000,000—compared with £38,200,000 for the first six months of last year.

Ronald Segal writes that stringent Government controls to thin the stream of imports "is noisily rumoured for early next year," but "this cannot fail to thin the flow of exports as well and further contract the economy."

INEVITABLE RESPONSE

The rest of the pamphlet is a cogent plea for industrial action outside the Union:

"To force a change in South Africa without outside intervention requires either violence or concerted industrial action by the African workers. Yet it is precisely to pacific industrial action that the Sharpevilles are the Government's inevitable response.

"Over 70 men, women and children were killed in the March massacres not so much because they were demonstrating against the pass laws as because workers were staying away from their work the more effectively to do so.

"It was in direct reaction to the spreading general strike that the South African Government declared a state of emergency and imprisoned over 1,900 of its opponents without any trial."

The pamphlet then argues that South African goods are classically "black," the products of broken strikes and in many instances "substitute" labour.

Industrial action is therefore needed to force the South African Government into

recognising "the most elementary rights" enjoyed by workers in the civilised world.

- African workers should be entitled to organise themselves into non-racial registered trade unions.

- Their right to strike should be recognised in law and sustained by free practice.

- The wholesale recruitment of mine and other labour from outside the country should cease.

- The pass laws should be withdrawn so as to ensure a free labour market.

Industrial action would thus not be to further political ends, but

"were these few basic demands to be met, the country's African workers could exert irresistible pressures for their final full enfranchisement."

This is the challenge of industrial action.

"Every crate of oranges exported to Britain from South Africa helps to pay for the machinery of apartheid, the ever-growing White police force, the bulging jails, the clerks of regimentation and repression.

"Behind the active citizens force, now being reorganised for an Algerian situation, stands the British worker, helping to pay for apartheid to the tune of some £130,000,000 a year."

The South African Government has only twice yielded to outside pressure. It withdrew convict labour from the ports during African stevedore strikes when threatened with reprisals by the International Transport Federation.

"The call is clear," says Ronald Segal. "How many Sharpevilles will British trade unionism allow before answering it?"

At the Trades Union Congress a motion was passed unanimously instructing the TUC to discuss with the ICFTU the resumption of the boycott or other methods.

'VILE SCHEME OF APARTHEID'

— The Times
WIDESPREAD disgust at apartheid was strengthened last week by an unusually strong leader in The Times on South West Africa. Under the heading "Theft of a Mandate," it stated categorically:

"Weak though the position of the Nationalist Government is on many legal and moral points of international concern, and low though its prestige is in the eyes of the world, it is nowhere more awkwardly placed than in the attitude it has chosen to take up over South West Africa."

Prime Minister Verwoerd, said The Times, had complained about the paper even raising the matter, even though it had not committed itself to any judgment. The leader continued:

"Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Louw are damned in the eyes of all men of good will all over the world for having been false to a trust. No amount of ingenious chicanery can obscure simple basic facts about South West Africa. . . It was placed under the mandatory system of the League of Nations in order that its wretched tribesmen might be given a new deal in the light of decent world opinion.

"Instead of fulfilling this obligation of honour, the South African Government, quibbling barefacedly about the succession from League to United Nations, has swallowed South West Africa into its vile scheme of apartheid. . . A mandate has been stolen and the thieves are vainly protesting their innocence."

This is by far the strongest statement yet by The Times.

FREEDOM AWARD

Mr. Alan Paton, the author, plans to fly from Johannesburg to New York today (Friday) to receive the Freedom Award. After some delays he was told on Tuesday by the South African Immigration Department that his passport had been renewed.

BOYS JAILED — FOR BEING UNEMPLOYED

THE South African Supreme Court ruled in recent test cases that the mere presence in certain areas of un-

conduct and activities were similarly entirely innocuous.

The boys had been on a police list of

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BOYS JAILED — FOR BEING UNEMPLOYED

THE South African Supreme Court ruled in recent test cases that the mere presence in certain areas of unemployed people constituted a “threat to public order and safety” and that they could rightly be jailed.

In the cases of *Mawo versus Pepler* and *Mbadlanyna versus Pepler*, the Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division of the Supreme Court ruled in judgment delivered on August 1:

“It is a common human experience that in times of unrest such elements can, and do, contribute to rioting and looting and other forms of public mischief.”

The cases were brought by the mothers of two boys in Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town, against the Commandant of the prison, Colonel Pepler. The boys were aged 16 and 17. The judgment continued:

“Nor does the element of their youth militate against this: the world has become accustomed to demonstrations and consequent disorders—and even to the subversion of authority—brought about, and led, by students and other youths.”

Colonel Pepler had been called upon to produce the two boys and to show “for what reasons and under what authority” they were being detained. They were arrested on May 8.

No politics

MacDonald Mawo had been due to start work the day after his arrest, though the Labour Bureau had been unable to offer him any employment. He had never committed any offence and “had never engaged in political activity nor attended any political meeting.”

Nimrod Mbadlanyna similarly had found no job at the Labour Bureau, but had eventually found work on May 6 and had been due to start the following week. His

conduct and activities were similarly entirely innocuous.

The boys had been on a police list of names for arrest under the Emergency Regulations. The magistrate who had jailed them had explained that they were referred to in the Emergency Regulations under Regulation 4 (bis), sub-section 1, paragraph (c):

“in the case of a person arrested in any such urban area . . . had no fixed place of employment and no sufficient honest means of livelihood.”

The magistrate had directed that they be jailed “until such time as the Regulation lapses or the Minister orders that they respectively be released.”

Both applications failed and the applicants were ordered to pay Colonel Pepler’s costs in each application. An appeal is being made against judgment.

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Penny pledge campaign against apartheid

THE South African High Commissioner in London was invited on Monday morning to send a speaker to the big anti-apartheid rally in the Central Hall tonight (Friday), but as *Peace News* went to press there was still no reply.

The meeting, which starts at 7.30 p.m., is being sponsored by the Africa Bureau, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Christian Action, the Committee of African Organisations and the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

A penny pledge campaign against apartheid will be launched. The speakers will be **Oliver Tambo**, Vice-President of the African National Congress, **Dr. Yusuf Dadoo**, Former President (now Vice-President) of the South African Indian Congress, **Nano Mahomo**, representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress, and **J. Kosonguizi**, President of the South West African National Union.

Government, quibbling inaccurately about the succession from League to United Nations, has swallowed South West Africa into its vile scheme of apartheid. . . . A mandate has been stolen and the thieves are vainly protesting their innocence.”

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P N. BROADSHEET

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Mr. Sonkosi’s horrifying disclosures of conditions in S. Africa demand the widest possible circulation.

A two-page Broadsheet reprinting his articles on pages five and six of this week’s PN is available at 7s. 6d. a 100 or £3 a 1,000 post free (Single copies 3d. post free).

S. African slavery must be ended, order your Broadsheets and make the facts known.

PN Publications Dept.,
5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

FREEDOM AND THE ECONOMY

BEHIND Ghana's recent anti-liberal moves lay the fear, not of a revival by a dwindling and largely ineffective Opposition, but of discontent and disaffection among the workers that would hamper or jeopardise her ambitious development programme.

By Michael Randle



But first let us take a look at the extent of the trend. In one week, August 21-27, measures taken included:

The passing in one day, Wednesday 24, of a bill authorising the Government to appoint supervisors to vet the contents of any paper thought likely to publish material against the public interest.

The immediate application of these powers against the *Ashanti Pioneer* (which supports the Opposition [United] Party). The arrest of 13 United Party supporters, under the Preventative Detention Act which empowers the Government to detain for up to five years persons suspected of plotting against the state. Those arrested included one Member of Parliament and the United Party Chairman of the Accra Central Constituency—Dr. Nkrumah's former seat—where a by-election was due in under a week.

The withdrawal of licences from the United Party to operate loudspeaker vans, on the grounds that they were being used to incite workers.

The passing of an August 25 bill making trade union membership compulsory within one month, and stipulating penalties for any employer after that time engaging non-union labour.

The economic realities are no less stark. By means of much hard bargaining Ghana has recently obtained loans totalling \$85 million from the United States, Gt. Britain and the World Bank as well as loans from the Soviet Union for her second Five Year Development Plan. This is expected to cost £G350 million, of which £G100 is earmarked for the Volta River hydro-electric and aluminium smelting project.‡

But even so she will be hard pressed to find the resources to fulfil this programme and can ill-afford any substantial increase in its cost, such as that which large all-round wage increases would involve.

were being investigated by the Government.

A fortnight later 101 workers in Takoradi, Ghana's main seaport, were arrested for an illegal demonstration and bound over to keep the peace for six months.

That such demonstrations should occur within the first two months of Ghana's becoming a Republic must have been a big shock to the Government. It reacted both positively and negatively. Positively it announced wage increases for lower income groups, taken to include those receiving £G360 per annum or less, a new minimum wage of 6s. 6d. per day applicable to both town and country workers, setting up of a commission to enquire into the cost of living, and measures to stabilise prices.

Negatively it took steps to ensure that all workers would in future be under TUC (and therefore Government) control and measures, which have gained it much unwelcome publicity abroad, to prevent "irresponsible" elements from exploiting the workers' legitimate grievances for their own ends.

Clumsy opposition

THE *Ashanti Pioneer*, the *de facto*, though not official, organ of the Opposition, made a bad start in exploiting the Government's difficulties. On August 6, commenting on the Accra demonstration, it devoted its editorial to castigating the workers in a high-handed fashion. "We would therefore hasten at this juncture," it said, "to call a spade a spade and firmly request the workers to stop making their valueless noise in the streets." This piece of staggering ineptitude was followed by attacks on the TUC and its officials which were to prove, if anything, too effective.

On August 15, five days after the Government had announced that it had decided in principle to award increases to lower income groups and to appoint a Commission of enquiry on the cost of living, the *Pioneer* suggested that the workers should make specific demands; it recommended

money, it insisted, was in the nation's coffers. Was not the Government about to give aid to the Congo Government to the tune of £G100,000 or more?

This attack offended on two counts. It encouraged the workers to demand more than the Government could reasonably afford to pay, and it called into question the policy of Pan-African "mutuality"—aid to Congo, Guinea, etc.—which Dr. Nkrumah has pursued with determination and courage in the face of murmurings in many quarters.

The following day the *Evening News* in a front page editorial entitled: "This is Treason—Government Must Act Now!" called for "positive action" by the Government against the *Pioneer*. (Alas for "positive action" as a term to describe non-violent action!). It alleged that attacks on the Government's Congo policy were treasonable. On August 19 the TUC announced its intention to sue the *Pioneer* for libel. Undaunted, the *Pioneer* renewed its attacks on the TUC in general and its General Secretary, Mr. John Tettegah, in particular.

The next week saw the implementation of the measures I have described earlier, together with the announcement in a broadcast speech by the President of the details of the wage awards and the measures to peg prices. On the day that the new press laws were passed a TUC official arrived at the office of the *Ashanti Pioneer* on behalf of the Government to vet its contents. When the *Pioneer's* offer to publish with blank spaces for all censored parts was refused it failed to appear for nearly a week. It has now reappeared, entirely devoid of controversial material. As an organ of opposition, or even independent opinion, it has ceased to exist.

Assessment

IN assessing the situation we must remember the importance to a new country of a development programme which can make the difference to

ment programme figured in his mind in deciding on the wage increases and he insisted that the higher rates of pay would have to be matched by increased productivity.

Newly developing countries have not the reserves of capital nor the subtle resources of mass persuasion (so well described in Vance Packard's *HIDDEN PERSUADERS*) that permit Governments of Europe and the United States—not necessarily any more scrupulous—to feel confidence in allowing a considerable measure of free rein to their subjects (but which they do not hesitate to revoke in an "emergency").

Nevertheless the steps taken are to be deeply regretted. The Government is progressive enough and popular enough to have withstood criticism of its policies, even irresponsible criticism. The threat to the development programme of irresponsible agitation among the workers even if real is not likely to be eliminated—certainly not by measures designed to curb freedom of the press, for the circulation of newspapers is relatively very small indeed and word of mouth is still the most important means of communication.

Such measures put a premium on conformity and mediocrity. (At a recent conference Ghana was shown in bad light because her delegation, whatever subject was discussed, jumped up to insist that Ghana had taken the lead.) Most important of all it could affect Ghana's moral leadership in Africa which up to now has been a very real force both in the independent and non-independent territories, and could even jeopardise the goal of African Unity upon which she sets so much store.

If there is a lesson for those of us in the field of non-violence it is that we must explore much further the economics of freedom. E. F. Schumacher expressed the point well in his article in *The Observer* on "Non-violent Economics" which appeared—prophetically—at the beginning of the week August 21-27: "The real task of the present age," he said, "is to overcome

The economic realities are no less stark. By means of much hard bargaining Ghana has recently obtained loans totalling \$85 million from the United States, Gt. Britain and the World Bank as well as loans from the Soviet Union for her second Five Year Development Plan. This is expected to cost £G350 million, of which £G100 is earmarked for the Volta River hydro-electric and aluminium smelting project.†

But even so she will be hard pressed to find the resources to fulfil this programme and can ill-afford any substantial increase in its cost, such as that which large all-round wage increases would involve.

Low wages

ON the other hand the country's lower paid workers were in a bad way. Official Government statistics show that the cost of living had risen by 12 per cent on the 1954 figures while there had been no proportionate increase in wages. The lowest paid groups were earning as little as 5s. 6d. per day—£G6 12s. per month.

The first warnings of serious discontent came on August 3 when 2,000 workers demonstrated in front of the new TUC headquarters and Parliament House for more pay. According to a report in the *Daily Graphic* (Ghana), one of the *Mirror Pictorial* (British) group of newspapers, the crowd "mobbed" the car of Mr. Krobo Edusei, Minister of Transport and Communications, for 15 minutes.

The report quotes Mr. Edusei as saying: "If you demonstrate against your own Government it is no disgrace personally to Edusei but it is a disgrace to you." The *Evening News*, however, which supports the Government, reported that the demonstration was directed against "the attitude of some foreign firms," and that Mr. Edusei had been cheered by the workers when he assured them that their grievances

†The Ghana £ is on a par with £ sterling.

UNIVERSAL RELIGION PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Service, 3.30, Sunday, Sept. 25

Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross
Discourse—O. L. Tuckman, "MAN—THE
UNKNOWN?" followed by recordings—
Dr. and Mrs. Linus Pauling.

in exploiting the Government's difficulties. On August 6, commenting on the Accra demonstration, it devoted its editorial to castigating the workers in a high-handed fashion. "We would therefore hasten at this juncture," it said, "to call a spade a spade and firmly request the workers to stop making their valueless noise in the streets." This piece of staggering ineptitude was followed by attacks on the TUC and its officials which were to prove, if anything, too effective.

On August 15, five days after the Government had announced that it had decided in principle to award increases to lower income groups and to appoint a Commission of enquiry on the cost of living, the *Pioneer* suggested that the workers should make specific demands; it recommended that as the President's salary and allowances had been doubled from £G6,000 p.a. to £G12,000 p.a. the workers should demand that their wages be doubled! The

Civil disobedience

I FEEL I must disagree with Austin Underwood (PN Sept. 9) when he says that the CND is lacking in imaginative leadership, and suggests that hard work is being done only at the regional and group level.

This is hardly fair to the workers at HQ who, as always, are working as hard as anyone in the Campaign.

Are the days of marching almost over? Maybe they are on the Aldermaston road, but on the road from Edinburgh to London the present march has done and is doing a power of good in stimulating discussion amongst the unconverted, and action on the part of hitherto inactive CND groups.

On the question of civil disobedience, however, I would agree that we may have to resort to this in the last analysis. Indeed, I think quite a lot can be achieved if 2-3,000 people took part in another illegal demonstration fairly soon: if such numbers did so, tremendous progress could be made.

—MICHAEL WORRAL, 13 Victoria Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne 2.

Foulness prisoners

MAY I, through your columns, thank the many people who sent wedding anniversary greetings to my wife (Phoebe Willets, now in Hill Hall Open Prison, Epping).

There were too many for me to be able to reply individually, but I would like all who sent to know that it was a great encouragement to my wife and myself that so

measures to peg prices. On the day that the new press laws were passed a TUC official arrived at the office of the *Ashanti Pioneer* on behalf of the Government to vet its contents. When the *Pioneer's* offer to publish with blank spaces for all censored parts was refused it failed to appear for nearly a week. It has now reappeared, entirely devoid of controversial material. As an organ of opposition, or even independent opinion, it has ceased to exist.

Assessment

IN assessing the situation we must remember the importance to a new country of a development programme which can make the difference to the community, not between degrees of comfort or luxury, but between reasonable subsistence and hunger. The President's broadcast showed how much the develop-

subject was discussed, jumped up to insist that Ghana had taken the lead.) Most important of all it could affect Ghana's moral leadership in Africa which up to now has been a very real force both in the independent and non-independent territories, and could even jeopardise the goal of African Unity upon which she sets so much store.

If there is a lesson for those of us in the field of non-violence it is that we must explore much further the economics of freedom. E. F. Schumacher expressed the point well in his article in *The Observer* on "Non-violent Economics" which appeared prophetically at the beginning of the week August 21-27: "The real task of the present age," he said, "is to overcome the peculiar violence and impatience that is characteristic of present-day Western economic philosophy, and to evolve a dignified and non-violent way of life."

Letters to the Editor

many should have written.—ALFRED WILLETT, 251 Bute St., Cardiff, Glam.

Law-breaking

IN company, I hope, with all your readers I enjoyed your picture (PN Sept. 9) of the USAF signboard overpainted by nuclear disarmers.

But when the chuckles have died away let us be honest and admit that all that is being attempted by the careful, well-thought-out briefing of civil disobedience demonstrators is undermined by this "when the policeman's not looking" kind of lawbreaking.

There must be thousands of high-spirited youngsters in CND only too willing to develop this technique in a big way once it is accepted as a legitimate method of protest, and yet another great, virile movement will be reduced to sterility by succumbing to the idea that if your aims are important and urgent enough any method will serve.

Surely a responsibility of *Peace News*, as a pacifist paper supporting CND, is to impress upon it the essential relationship between aims and methods.

The whole impressiveness of an act of lawbreaking as a protest depends on the lawbreaker being clearly the kind of person

who would not normally act in that way. The act, therefore, has to be a formal one, carried out openly and without either bitterness or impudence.

Is it too wild a flight of fancy to imagine a future *Peace News* featuring a broken window at No. 10? I hope so, but it makes you think.—ALAN G. FUDGE, 73a Bryanston Rd., Bitterne, Southampton.

Communists and CND

I WOULD not question the specific information given by your correspondent, Mr. S. R. Broadbridge (PN Sept. 16), but I must take issue with the overall picture he presents.

Up to the date of the summit meeting, early this year, the Communist Party of Great Britain kept its belief in unilateralism very much hidden. In fact, Mr. Broadbridge will no doubt be able to recall that following both the 1958 and the 1959 Aldermaston Marches there was another march a few weeks afterwards organised by the British Peace Committee which, even making every conceivable allowance and using the maximum amount of goodwill, could only be described as a counter-march in

Prophet priest and radical

MICHAEL SCOTT TALKS TO PEACE NEWS

Last week Jack Shepherd started a series of PN interviews by meeting the composer Michael Tippett. He continues now with an interview with the Rev. Michael Scott, Hon. Director of the Africa Bureau and a Member of the Board of Peace News.

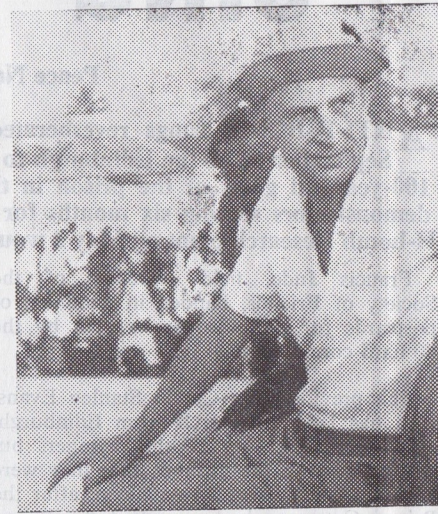
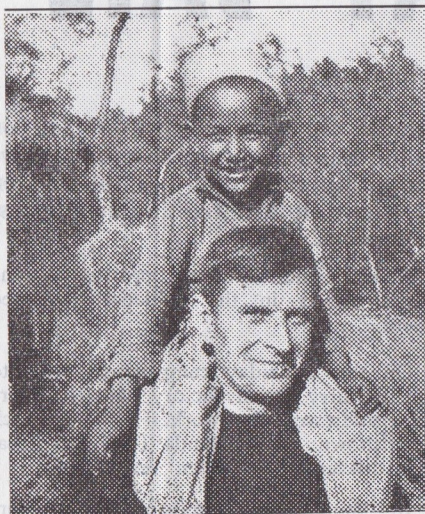
“OUR civilisation is on the balance. It can move in one of two ways . . . to a new dark age of barbarism, or to a new era of enlightenment. What we do now will decide the tip of the scales.” Words used in all seriousness, though without solemnity, by a gently-spoken amiable man of weatherbeaten countenance and greying hair; a priest in jersey and slacks.

The prophet Jeremiah did not enjoy publicity; he was a shy man who hated fuss and shrank from ridicule. He said and did what he did because he had to. The Reverend Michael Scott, no doubt to the disbelief of his critics, is a gentle person, an absent-minded man (when I arrived there was a search going on for a lost key, or a locked box, I was never quite sure) whose voice seldom rises above a conversational tone.

A dozen years ago his quiet voice was alone in the wilderness, asking that silenced men might be given a hearing. Ever since he has battled against apathy and conspiracies of silence, persuading Europe and the West to become aware of Africa.



Prohibited from South Africa, he operated from a Bloomsbury kitchen, his office files under the bed, and no resources but his own inner compulsion and the help of a handful of friends. Today he could have been a legend, had he not resisted the efforts to make him one. Legend contains a degree of fantasy, and there is nothing unreal or fantastic about Michael Scott. He is still familiar with the insides of prisons, and somebody else told me that when the Sahara team was passing through Ghana last winter, African children ran from the villages asking “Which is Michael Scott?” They knew he was a man to be trusted.



Three roles in one. Left to right: Michael Scott as chaplain (India, before the war), as leader of the Sahara A-protest team (Ghana, last year), as advocate at UN on behalf of the Herero people of S. W. Africa

and which cannot be dealt with by methods which are merely the extension of old diplomacies and balances of power. They both offer the possibility of working out patterns for an enlightened future. Politics and religion must be lifted out of self-pre-occupation, and acquire, or be given, a longer vision. Never was there such need for thinking to be radical, beginning with roots, moving outside our general assumption that ways found expedient a century ago need still be inevitable. What we call the peace movement is a groping towards a new radicalism which will and must override denomination and party, and all the time *this radicalism must beware of becoming itself yet another denomination or party.* (Remember, he told me, the campaign against capital punishment, which the party machine absorbed and paralysed.)

To Michael Scott, campaigning for nuclear disarmament means direct action. He sees nothing extraordinary in this, and regrets that people otherwise sympathetic regard direct action with suspicion, or even ostracism. At the same time he is scrupulously careful of the nature of effec-

It must be spontaneous and voluntary. It must be based on a respect and love for law and good order so real that, in honest travail at its failure, the demonstrator is ready to sacrifice liberty and perhaps reputation by defying the law at its ailing point. Any love for display, any conscious or unconscious attitude of moral superiority, are weaknesses which will damage the cause. DA must always direct its appeal to the conscience of its opponents, and never do violence, either to their persons or their intelligence.



He pointed out to me that suspicion of direct action as a method seems only manifest in societies like those of Britain and USA where the habit of expedient obedience has taken root. In other places, France, for instance, or Africa, the natural development of this new radicalism has taken the form of direct action, passive resistance, *satyagraha*, as much as it is capable of being understood.

The Sahara venture, he instanced, proved to be a valuable experience in the applica-

understand. Even the guards imposed to keep them out of mischief, when they realised that pugilism was not on the programme, put aside their weapons and took an interest.

There is still a long way to go and a lot to be learned, but there is already plenty of evidence that non-violent action produces results. Events in the Congo have high-lighted the absence of what has been most needed: an internationally recognised group of people of known independence from power blocks, unarmed, whose motives are beyond question, and able to generate enough confidence to explain and be believed.

But, I asked, is *satyagraha* or passive resistance practicable in the South African situation? Many people have told me that it is not. Michael Scott believes that it is — *as long as the world outside South Africa backs it up.* After all, the application of *satyagraha* began in Natal, and there is an impressive history of its use in South Africa. It is true that the passive South African resister places himself in great danger, and it will not do for the Western

operated from a Bloomsbury kitchen, his office files under the bed, and no resources but his own inner compulsion and the help of a handful of friends. Today he could have been a legend, had he not resisted the efforts to make him one. Legend contains a degree of fantasy, and there is nothing unreal or fantastic about Michael Scott. He is still familiar with the insides of prisons, and somebody else told me that when the Sahara team was passing through Ghana last winter, African children ran from the villages asking "Which is Michael Scott?" They knew he was a man to be trusted.

He regards the situation in South Africa and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain as facets of the same point of balance on which our times lie poised. They both raise issues which cannot be avoided,

● FROM PAGE TEN

favour of multi-lateral nuclear disarmament at an early summit conference.

With regard to his finding me "incomprehensible," speaking from memory and without checking the records, I am reasonably confident that the two unions to which he and I refer (the Electrical Trades Union and the Scottish National Union of Mineworkers) went on record in favour of unilateralism subsequent to the TUC 1959.

I sincerely wish that I could accept his last but one paragraph at its face value, because if the Communist Party only wished to support the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament simply because it wished it to succeed there would be no need for this correspondence.

What has in fact happened since early summer is that both Communist dominated ad hoc committees and British Peace Committees (mainly resurrected) have made approaches to CND for joint action, or, as happened on at least one very important occasion, an attempt was made by two overwhelmingly Communist bodies to call a conference to arrange something which CND had already arranged and at which an attempt was made to denigrate CND whose delegate was made to feel that he had only been invited as a matter of courtesy.

Finally, I feel I ought to draw attention to the behaviour of Communist marchers on recent CND marches. On the Fylingdales march, and again on the Finningley march, a quite determined attempt was made, or so

it appears—it might have been accidental—to give the impression through the placing of banners, numbers of literature sellers and so on, that the whole thing was CP organised and run, and there is good reason to suppose that this attempt was organised beforehand and was not accidental because intervention by the stewards and marshals in accordance with the previously agreed instructions of the chief marshal appeared to have no effect and simply led to unpleasantness.

Mr. Broadbridge is quite right when he says that once an organisation becomes, or gives the impression of being, under Communist control people desert it in large numbers. This is unfortunate, but it is a basic political fact today. It follows that if Communists have the good of CND at heart they will, especially on public occasions such as marches, try and submerge their personality within the march as a whole, just as other organisations, e.g. the Quakers, do, instead of bludgeoning their way to the very forefront and into the public eye, thereby giving the hostile press yet another weapon for blackguarding the campaign.—FRANCIS DEUTSCH, 47 Southwood Rd., Cottesingham, East Yorks.

MAY I second Francis Deutsch's plea for a long hard look at the British Communist Party and its value to the cause of nuclear disarmament in this country?

Of course there are good sincere Communists in CND; they are the dangerous ones, there to promote their own faith.

tion that ways found expedient a century ago need still be inevitable. What we call the peace movement is a groping towards a new radicalism which will and must override denomination and party, and all the time *this radicalism must beware of becoming itself yet another denomination or party.* (Remember, he told me, the campaign against capital punishment, which the party machine absorbed and paralysed.)

To Michael Scott, campaigning for nuclear disarmament means direct action. He sees nothing extraordinary in this, and regrets that people otherwise sympathetic regard direct action with suspicion, or even ostracism. At the same time he is scrupulously careful of the nature of effective direct action. Did he think of DA as a way of galvanising CND? No. He thinks of it as a spontaneous and wholly natural expression of CND.

He pointed out to me that suspicion of direct action as a method seems only manifest in societies like those of Britain and USA where the habit of expedient obedience has taken root. In other places, France, for instance, or Africa, the natural development of this new radicalism has taken the form of direct action, passive resistance, *satyagraha*, as much as it is capable of being understood.

The Sahara venture, he instanced, proved to be a valuable experience in the application of this new way of doing things. In French Upper Volta, in spite of official prohibitions, ordinary African people flocked around and seemed quickly to

There are also the occasional bad, deviating types who actually see little difference between a capitalist H-bomb and a Communist one.

We should resist all attempts by the former to invest nuclear disarmament with such irrelevancies as Marxism, Popular Fronts, class struggle and the rest. The latter has deviated enough to be really useful.

Should we not deny the CP the joys of a parasitic revival on our back? We should meet opportunism with opportunism. Now the CP offers us very little scope for expansion. Against a few thousand Marxists there are millions of working men and women to be considered. It is they who may eventually vote to ban the bomb, they—the unpolitical people.

There is no doubt in my own mind that the CP has always been a latent liability in the cause of nuclear disarmament. But I have never been able to fathom out Communist tactics.

If these ambiguous, indefatigable Machiavellians want to see the Campaign succeed, the Bomb renounced, NATO in disarray, then surely they must realise that their most positive contribution is—silence.

By infiltrating, affiliating, attempting to win control one can only assume that for some inscrutable, grimly dialectical reason of their own they wish our extinction as a popular force—DAVID GILL, 37 Thorncliffe Rd., Oxford.

most needed: an internationally recognised group of people of known independence from power blocks, unarmed, whose motives are beyond question, and able to generate enough confidence to explain and be believed.

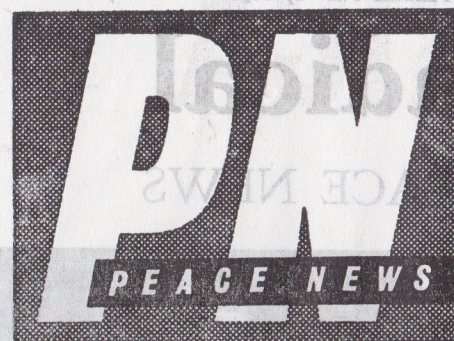
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What of the European liberals inside South Africa? Michael Scott believes that any efforts they make through constitutional channels are doomed before they begin; but that their part could be a large one: that of inducing their neighbours to consider it possible they might be wrong, that there are valid points of view outside the fixed horizons, and that God did not ordain that systems inherited should last for ever. It would be quite an achievement to persuade frightened people to admit to their fears, and realise the horror of their attempts to escape from them.

I asked him whether he was, on the whole, optimistic about the future. While admitting he thought it highly possible that the world could tip backwards into chaos, he said he *was* optimistic, and that his optimism was based on the fact that the very situations which are now most painfully dangerous, are the same situations which offer opportunities for working out the pattern needed for an enlightened future. What better proving grounds for intelligent survival than South Africa, with its infinite variety of peoples and resources; and nuclear power, with its choice between constructive peace or suicidal war?

"If humanity survives," he said "people will look back with amazement at this period when we were, apparently, content to live within four minutes of annihilation."

Michael Scott's book review, page eight.



1265 Sept. 23, 1960 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

War on Want Trust

opens office

THE first official premises of the War on Want Trust were opened on September 14, at 5 Madeley Road, Ealing, by Mr. Ben Yienes, a spokesman, not only for the Tunisian Embassy, but also for one hundred "tiny little people"—refugee children found wandering in search of food among the rocks and caves of Algeria, and now safely gathered into the Trust's Home, "Yas Mina", near Tunis. On behalf of both he expressed heartfelt thanks and good wishes to the Trust.

Another African visitor—introduced by the Rev. Michael Scott—was the Rev. Marcus Cooper. Deprived of his "birthplace", the native reserves,—which "being good fertile land must not be possessed by Black men"—he had escaped by way of the Rhodesias, and in spite of the refusal of a visa, obstruction and delay, was now on his way to plead the case of South West Africa before the United Nations Trusteeship Committee.

Other speakers included the Rt. Hon. Hilary Marquand, MP, technical advisor, whose intervention in the House of Commons had done much to facilitate the Rev. Cooper's passage; the Rt. Hon. James Griffiths, MP, Treasurer; Mrs. Lucy Middleton, Chairman; and Frank Harcourt Munnings, Director of the Trust.

"We must destroy world poverty, or be destroyed," said Frank Harcourt Munnings. "If the hungry turn to the democratic nations in vain, they will be forced to turn elsewhere."

The Annual Report of the War on Want Trust, which was available, showed that in the course of the last year over £50,000

400-MILE MARCHERS SING AT JAIL GATES

Peace News Reporter

ANTI-H-BOMB songs reverberated around the walls of Stafford Jail on September 15 as the Edinburgh to London marchers swung past the massive 100-year-old gates of the prison in the hope that the six men of the thirteen demonstrators serving six months for their non-violent obstruction of Foulness H-bomb Research plant on May 2 would hear them.

Francis Jude, field secretary of the Society of Friends, handed in a bundle of postcards for the prisoners written by the 40 hard core marchers.

The previous day Canon Stanley Evans, who has lead the march from Edinburgh, asked permission to see the prisoners but was refused on the grounds that they were Quakers and he was an Anglican, after the Prison Governor had consulted the Prison Commissioners by telephone. One of the prisoners, Laurens Otter, is in fact an Anglo-Catholic. Canon Evans waited for two and a quarter hours to hear this decision.

Stephen Swinger, MP for Newcastle-under-Lyme and former MP for Stafford, who had been marching at the head of the march that day, promised to make the "strongest possible protest" to Mr. Butler.

At a meeting after the marchers entered Stafford, Francis Jude gave best wishes to the campaign on behalf of the Foulness prisoners in Stafford, Wormwood Scrubs,

Hill Hall and Holloway prisons. Young Conservatives in the audience remained silent.

On the Thursday campaigners went to the Ruberry Owen factory canteen where they addressed the workers. The march was shown on Midlands ITV and local press coverage has been very good.

In the towns youthful campaigners descended upon cafes and coffee bars where they have been received with sympathy and often enthusiasm by other young people who have bought many CND badges. Since the beginning of the campaign ten youth groups have been formed.

Tomorrow (Saturday) the 400-mile marchers leave Pound Lane, Willesden, in North London at 11.15 a.m. and proceed via Willesden Lane, Kilburn High Road, Edgware Road, Park Lane, Piccadilly Circus to Trafalgar Square for a final rally at 4.30 p.m. to be addressed by Bertrand Russell, President of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and others.

Leading war resisters for India meeting

AMONG those who will be addressing the open sessions of the War Resisters' International Tenth Triennial Conference in India next December, will be the Rev. Michael Scott, Bayard Rustin, Negroe veteran of many non-violent actions in the USA including the famed Montgomery (Alabama) Bus Boycott, Nana Mahomo of the South African Pan-Africanist Congress, Siddharaj Dhadha, editor of Bhodan, the organ of the Land Gift Movement in India; Danilo Dolci, the "Gandhi of Sicily"; Asha Devi, co-worker of Gandhi; G. Ramachandran, the Director of Gandhigram where the conference is to be held; and R. Lohia of the Indian Socialist Party.

Complete disarmament

■ FROM PAGE ONE

port a party which took a clear, bold stand on this issue," he wrote.

If the policy were right, it should be fought for even if it were not a vote-winner. He was confident, however, that if Labour accepted the new idea and really campaigned for it they would win at the next election.

Three other Labour MPs, John Strachey, James Callaghan and George Thomson, have gone on record as opposing unilateral nuclear disarmament, while George Brown, "Shadow" Defence Minister, claimed that only those who believed the West should "go pacifist or nuclear pacifist," assuming there was any difference in practice between the two, could oppose it.

PACIFISM?

The *Observer* was told last Sunday that it was not fair either to Mr. Cousins, to pacifism, or to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to describe Mr. Cousins' policy as "unavowed pacifism."

"The policy which Mr. Cousins personally appears to be advocating is that of unilateral action by Britain to get rid of nuclear weapons," Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, wrote. "His resolution at the TUC did not specifically use the term 'unilateral.' The policy of pacifism, avowed or unavowed, is that of complete and total unconditional unilateral disarmament by Britain."

To this the Editor of the *Observer* replied: "In practical politics, pacifism means opposition to the use or threat of

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The Annual Report of the War on Want Trust, which was available, showed that in the course of the last year over £50,000 had been handled for relief work by voluntary workers, and that 120 new groups had been formed.

Our man on the march

EX-FINNINGLEY prisoner, seventeen-year-old Michael Biggs, aided by others, has been selling Peace News for the last 400 miles and three weeks... and he sold out several times. By phone and letter came his calls for more supplies. His enthusiasm was equalled only by his fellow campaigners on the road from Edinburgh.

Joining Michael Biggs at 10.45 a.m. tomorrow (Saturday) at Pound Lane, Willesden, will be 26-year-old veteran of the movement, David Lane, who will be wearing a War Resisters' International broken rifle armband for identification. Collect your PN supplies from him and help double the number of PN sold so far on the march!

Those who cannot join the march at Willesden will find PN sellers at the lunch stop at Marble Arch at 1 p.m.

In Trafalgar Square supplies of PN will be available from the Charing Cross side of Nelson's Column from 3 p.m. onwards together with Ministry of Works permits for selling in the Square.

PN readers can do another good job at the Labour Party conference from Monday, October 3, to Friday, October 7, by selling the paper at the numerous sessions and evening meetings. Sellers should go to the Spa Grand Hall, Scarborough, before 9 a.m. each day or leave details of when they can help with Mr. L. Hardman, Tel. Scarborough 2568.

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More than 300 delegates from over 25 countries are expected to attend. Speeches will be translated into five languages, including Esperanto.

Arlo Tatum, the General Secretary of the WRI, on August 30 visited Vinoba Bhave, the leader of the Bhoodan Movement, at Kasturbagram. He talked with the most radical Gandhian leader in India about the possibility of moving WRI headquarters to India. Vinoba thought that this was a good idea and suggested that they should be established at the new International Sarvodaya Centre, Bangalore.

After speaking to youth organisations in

Colombo he travelled south to Panadura for a Buddhist meeting, thence north via Colombo and Anuradhapura, the ancient capital of Ceylon, to Jaffna. He visited the ashram at Chunnakam, seven miles away, and a nearby church led by Rev. K. J. Mills. Before leaving for India he also spoke to the Town Teachers Association and the Rotary Club in Jaffna.

Until December Arlo Tatum will be travelling all over India lecturing and preparing for this conference—the largest and most significant in the history of modern pacifism.

"The policy which Mr. Cousins personally appears to be advocating is that of unilateral action by Britain to get rid of nuclear weapons," Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, wrote. "His resolution at the TUC did not specifically use the term 'unilateral.' The policy of pacifism, avowed or unavowed, is that of complete and total unconditional unilateral disarmament by Britain."

To this the Editor of the Observer replied: "In practical politics, pacifism means opposition to the use or threat of violence, even when violence is used or threatened against you. Mr. Cousins has made it abundantly plain that he objects to the Western alliance having nuclear weapons at its disposal, which means that NATO could not stand up against threats of violence from a country which increasingly bases its defence on this type of weapon. It is true that Mr. Cousins has not specifically used the term 'unilateral.' Either (as we suppose) from a failure to think through the consequences of his proposals, or for less creditable political reasons, he has preferred to keep his pacifism—as we said—'unavowed.'"

October 1

AT UN, disarmament is being discussed in a radically changed power framework. At Scarborough, the Labour Party will face a majority vote for basic changes in foreign policy. Africa is in the throes of a continuous and largely peaceful revolution.

In this situation Peace News has a unique contribution to make. No other weekly faces the necessary changes in the social, economic and international spheres on an unequivocal basis of non-violence.

"In times like these you need Peace News" is not a sales slogan. It reflects our conviction that peace education is the top priority job, that more and more people must be brought to consider the principles for which we stand.

Our campaign is getting under way. PN posters and sellers will greet the party delegates at Scarborough, CND in Bournemouth has arranged a four week

poster advertisement in the local press, street hoardings in Sheffield will remind Britain's steel workers of our work, the new poster will be conspicuous at the freshers' meetings of several Universities, Quaker and peace groups all over Britain are being asked to co-operate.

Please write quickly for your new posters and PN supplies for the big drive from Oct. 1 onwards. To Peace News, Ltd., 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

Please send free of charge
.....New Posters (30" x 20")
.....Small Posters (15" x 10")
.....Showcards with display slot for PN.

These will be displayed at
.....Publicity leaflets.
.....doz. Peace News (propaganda rate 3s. doz. post free) this week/next week/ every week.

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ADDRESS



in times like these
you need
PEACE NEWS

FRIDAY SIXPENCE get it at your newsagent

to the philosophy of the police. THEY STEAL FOR LOVE is an account of his experience.

The sub-title "An Experiment in Education and Psychiatry with Children and Parents" leads to expectations which unfortunately are unfulfilled. The author has attempted too much. To integrate psychiatric material with the expression of an educational philosophy, plus an account of, and reflections on, almost every aspect of residential work with maladjusted children, is no easy task.

This is a very short book, and the result is confusion in both style and presentation. The psychiatric material is too uncoordinated to provide any new evaluation for experts in the field, while verbatim reports on psychiatric and casework interviews are unlikely to be fully appreciated by the layman, and their inclusion is irrelevant.

Nevertheless for many, this book will bring new insight. There are some detailed and revealing case-histories on individual children, and a frank description of the difficulties that beset a staff which tries to

the children, the children flourished emotionally while at Lammas, when they returned to the outside world, in particular their parents, many of them relapsed into their former undesirable behaviour.

Does this indicate that non-punitive methods are not the most satisfactory way of dealing with delinquents? Although Anthony Weaver does not attempt to justify his methods, he refers to the work of pioneers in the field of delinquency such as August Aichorn, and Homer Lane, and to reputable educationalists and psychoanalysts who have "made sense" to him. One of these is Ian Suttie, who, in THE ORIGINS OF LOVE AND HATE, suggests that the roots of anxiety and aggression lie in a disturbed early maternal love relationship, and that companionship and interests are the socially acceptable substitutes for the direct love-caressing relationship with the mother when that is no longer available.

Although this theory may be clinically sound, when applied practically to the

training regardless of the institution to which he is sent.

It would seem, therefore, that the surest justification for more liberal institutions in the treatment of delinquency, is at the moment, humanitarianism.

The results also provoke concern about the number of breakdowns among delinquents and disturbed people returning from a protected environment to the outside world. The case-histories of the children from Lammas tell the familiar stories of inadequate and rejecting parents, themselves leading unhappy and unsatisfactory lives. Anthony Weaver does not blame them, and although he sees our present society also as inadequate and rejecting in

adopts towards its deviants reflects its ultimate values. Perhaps also society is unable to accept its weaker members in a positive way, as we, as individuals, often fail to accept the weaker parts of ourselves.

THEY STEAL FOR LOVE is not an important book. It may justifiably be described as scrappy. But at least it contains material that stimulates reflection on the problems of the inadequate citizen. For those who wish to reflect further there is a bibliography; the books mentioned are very readable but inclined to be selective in outlook.

FREDA HUDSON.

Laments and laughter

ANY reader of this paper of a few years' standing and average I.Q. should be able to spot the author of the following lines:

Once more Isaiah speaks,
And through the synagogue his words
are heard:

Who is this man who seeks
For present meaning in the buried word?
The parson talks of heresy and schism,
Colonel Barabbas murmurs, 'Anarchism',

And old Sir Thomas Dives, CBE,
Counts with alarm the debtors he could
free.

Correct. Reginald Reynolds. And I hope that any reader more recent will accept this as an introduction. This is not one of his *New Statesman* satires, but part of a series of 42 poems called *THE LOADSTONE*, published by Friends Home Service Committee at 5s.

Nobody could diagnose a corrupted thought so well as Reg Reynolds, nor could anyone so well scrub it with the clean caustic of his wit; and what makes his caustic so precious is the healing power rising from his deep sincerity and concern.

Christus natus est

Chanticleer cries;

Quando? Quando?

Quacks the duck, in surprise;

Hac nocte, hac nocte

The barking dog replies.

It does not then surprise me that this

Nehru were not suicides nor lunatics. Could there be more to it than met the eye?

Looking back, I cannot help marvelling at the insight of those few of my fellow countrymen who were wise *before* the event. Reginald Reynolds was one of them.

Ask me no riddles of how things end,
For this is the secret of chaos and night:
*There is no end save the coming of light,
No end save beginning.*

Religious groupings and habits meant little to Reg until it dawned upon him that when Jesus came into Galilee saying "The Kingdom of God is among you," *he meant what he said*. Suddenly Gandhi and John Woolman sprang into a perspective gloriously right.

Who renders unto Caesar, he confines
God's Kingdom to the Athanasian Creed;
Nor his the superscription
Upon the coin. He chooses
Not in this world his Kingdom.
The Primate smiles. What does God
need?
Heads—Herod wins, and tails—God
loses.

The Christian Church is a heart-breaking phenomenon. One yearns over it, and agonises for it, and weeps at its talents for self-mutilation. Kenneth Barnes, in a foreword, writes of Reg Reynolds: "To him religion seemed its own worst enemy when it becomes turned in upon itself, concerned with the survival of its organisation and therefore with power."

AFRICAN QUESTION MARK

Black Government, by Kenneth Kaunda and Colin Morris. United Society for Christian Literature. 7s. 6d.

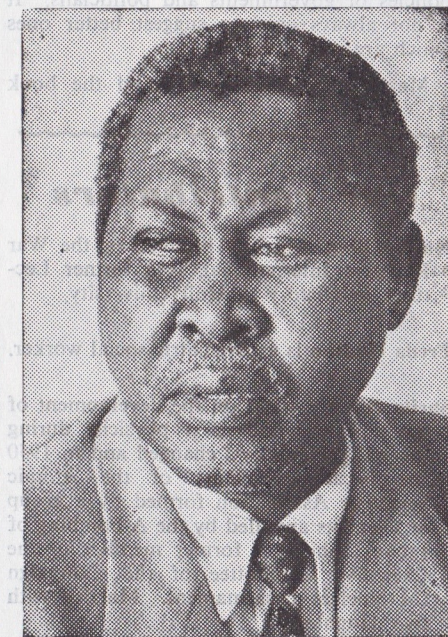
VIEWED from outer space Africa looks like a great question mark on the planet earth, and one which faces what in our dimension we should call the "West." And a question it is as this dialogue between Kenneth Kaunda and Colin Morris makes very clear.

Perhaps one of the most damaging things that has been done to Africa under colonial rule has been not so much the physical violence which can be repaired but the spiritual and mental violence which turns generosity into resentment, patience and respect for order into rage and hatred by the oft repeated pattern of "too little and too late." And then the complacent "We told you so." "Too soon and too far."

In some parts of Southern and Central Africa the destruction of non-violent African leadership (which is not the same as "moderate") is still going on, through the refusal to concede anything that could look like a success for them until they inevitably become discredited and the leadership passes out of their hands. Then the "show down" mentality brings in the Emergency measures, the shooting starts and the whole tragic cycle begins again.

This is why everyone who has interests in Africa, whether vested or unvested, should read this book **BLACK GOVERNMENT**.

Mr. Colin Morris represents so much of the best that Christianity and the radical tradition in the Western world has given to Africa from the days of the early explorers



Advocate of non-violence, Chief Luthuli, exiled for five years in South Africa.

The destruction of non-violent African leadership is still going on.

follows from the failure to afford adequate constitutional channels and training and experience in politics and the art of government—the most difficult of all.

This book coming out just before the Monckton Commission on Central Africa reports and before the Conference on the future of the Federation, should help to avert another Kenya tragedy. It cannot be to the advantage of either East or West